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Omelichev Interviewed on Troops Cuts in East Europe

PM1605101989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 May 89 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA interview with Lieutenant General B.A. Omelichev, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff: "In an Atmosphere of Glasnost and Openness"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] It has already been announced that Soviet troops liable to reduction will be withdrawn from the territory of the GDR, Hungary, and the CSSR according to the schedule elaborated by the General Staff. Has work on this schedule been completed?

[Omelichev] The General Staff, the main staffs of the branches of the Armed Forces, and the staffs of the groups of Soviet forces have elaborated and coordinated the requisite planning documents concerning the withdrawal of the Soviet troops with our allies.

Some of the measures drawn up in these documents are already being implemented at present. Thus, three assault and landing battalions have been withdrawn from the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the Central Group of Forces. Tanks are being withdrawn from a number of combined arms units and formations stationed in the allied countries. More than 1,200 tanks, including more than 1,000 from the GDR and approximately 200 from Hungary, have hitherto been withdrawn to the USSR's territory.

Considering that the withdrawal of a large number of troops and combat equipment is a complex and multifaceted process requiring careful consideration of many factors, the documents that have been elaborated may be somewhat amplified in practice.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] It has been announced that the troop withdrawal is to take place under the supervision of the Soviet and foreign public and the mass media. How has this been organized practically?

[Omelichev] The Soviet Union has shown its goodwill and agreed to the Armed Forces reductions taking place in an atmosphere of glasnost and openness. With this in view a Public Supervisory Group headed by Andrey Afanasyevich Kokoshin, deputy chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, has been created and already begun its work in our country. It is intended that representatives of the foreign public and mass media may be invited to supervise the reduction in the USSR Armed Forces.

For its part, the General Staff is giving the Public Supervisory Group the requisite aid and assistance in its practical activity. Its representatives have a chance to visit the military camps of the Soviet troops to be cut; talk with soldiers, NCO's, and officers; observe the practical actions being taken to withdraw our units and subunits from the GDR, Hungary, the CSSR, and Mongolia; and acquaint themselves with the process of disbanding these units in the Soviet Union.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] During their withdrawal from Afghanistan Soviet units encountered quite acute accommodation problems, and the press has written about this. How will things be done this time? Where will the families of servicemen without housing in the USSR be put?

[Omelichev] We are definitely taking into consideration the experience of the troop withdrawal from Afghanistan most carefully. I want to say here that many officers and warrant officers from the troop units being withdrawn from a number of socialist countries have reserved housing at their previous place of service in the Soviet Union. The families of these servicemen can live here until the question of their future service is resolved.

Things are more complex with regard to the families of those servicemen who—for various reasons—do not have their own apartments on our country's territory.

It is a matter of honor for commanders and chiefs of all ranks to take all the requisite steps to ensure that their subordinates' social and domestic difficulties are short-lived. At any rate, every serviceman's family must be shown the maximum attention and concern. The USSR defense minister demands this insistently, and civic duty compels us to ensure this.

The question of providing the families of officers, warrant officers, ensigns, and servicemen on extended service (from the formations and units to be cut) who are to be discharged into the reserve or on a pension is more complex. Local organs of power have been instructed to resolve this task. A corresponding USSR Government resolution compels soviet executive committees to take urgent steps to provide this category of servicemen with temporary housing and residence permits until they receive permanent housing.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Are there problems with regard to determining the future use of the engineering, automotive, and other equipment from those units to be disbanded?

[Omelichev] No, there are no problems of that nature.

In view of troops' inadequate supply of this equipment occasioned by the formation of highway construction teams assigned to build highways in the Non-Chernozem Zone of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and also in view of the reduction in deliveries of such equipment from industry, the engineering, automotive, and rear services equipment to be released is mainly being channeled into topping up military district and group of forces supplies of such equipment.

A considerable proportion of the automotive equipment is being channeled into the economy in accordance with USSR State Planning Commission and USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply schedules of allocations.

Equipment that has outlived its service life is being written off in accordance with established procedure.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] In withdrawing troops from the allied countries, we are vacating barracks, apartments, storehouses, and so on. Who will own all this stock?

[Omelichev] Soviet troops are stationed on the territory of the allied countries on a temporary basis in accordance with bilateral agreements between the USSR Government and the governments of these countries. They use the barracks, living quarters, and other facilities granted by our allies on a contractual basis.

Barracks, housing, economic, and other stock will be vacated in connection with the withdrawal of our units and formations. Some of it will be used to improve housing conditions for the Soviet troops still remaining on the allied state's territory. The rest of the stock will be handed over to local organs of power in the country where the Soviet troops are stationed in accordance with the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers. This transfer of stock has already occurred, for instance, in the GDR (Jueterbog) early this May.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Following the decision on unilateral reductions our political and military leaders said that this act of goodwill could not fail to affect the course of the Vienna talks. Can we say now that this effect has been manifested in any way?

[Omelichev] In deciding on cuts in the Armed Forces, the Soviet Union did not link these cuts with the talks on conventional armed forces. Nor did we make our actions conditional on similar steps from the West.

Our peace initiative is the practical implementation of the Soviet Union's foreign policy course of demilitarizing international relations and shaping a new means of ensuring universal security based on the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense.

Of course, the decisions adopted by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries to reduce their armed forces cannot, by virtue of their humanity, fail to have a beneficial effect on world public opinion by increasing trust in the Soviet Union's policy and rejection of the "enemy image."

Our act of goodwill also played a positive role in that the Vienna talks involving 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries on conventional armed forces and the talks involving 33 European states, the United States, and Canada on security and cooperation in Europe have from the outset assumed a businesslike character. We believe that the substantial reduction in our advantage in individual types of arms (tanks and artillery) will create favorable preconditions for achieving the concerted aims of the talks on conventional armed forces—to strengthen stability and security in Europe by reducing the level of the military balance of the sides' conventional armed forces, removing the imbalances and asymmetries, and eliminating the potential for sudden attack and large-scale offensive operations.

The USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries believe that NATO countries will also contribute to this cause.

CEMA Executive Committee Meets in Moscow

LD1605080489 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has convened for a session in Moscow. Participants in the session will discuss economic, scientific, and technological collaboration between the 10 member states, socialist countries in Europe, Asia, and America. The session will also review the implementation of a composite program for scientific and technological progress in the member countries till the end of the century.

Pact Chief of Staff Notes Cuts 'Limits'

PM1505123189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of staff, Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, by unnamed TASS correspondent: "Reliable Bulwark of Peace. 14 May Marks the 34th Anniversary of the Warsaw Pact Organization"—no place or date of interview given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] It has been 34 years since the day the leaders of the Soviet Union and the other European socialist countries signed in Warsaw the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance which has gone down in history as the Warsaw Pact. During the time that has passed since then, the defensive alliance of Warsaw Pact states has made a major contribution to the cause of easing tension in Europe and has gained the reputation of a reliable bulwark of peace and security for the peoples. Its role in contemporary conditions was described to a TASS correspondent by Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of staff, Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Nikolayevich, many people nowadays have only a vague idea of the situation that forced the socialist countries to conclude a defensive alliance and which determined the alliance's objectives and tasks. What could you say in this context?

[Lobov] The military-political situation in Europe had sharply deteriorated in the mid-fifties. Having created a system of military-political blocs around the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, with the North Atlantic alliance chief among them, the imperialist states embarked on immediate preparations for a new world war. West Germany was admitted to the NATO bloc, and this gave it a green light for the revival of militarism. Just a year later the Bonn authorities introduced compulsory military service, created an army of 500,000 men, and equipped it with the latest weapons, including systems for the use of nuclear ammunition. This enhanced the combat might of NATO's allied armed forces in Europe and gave them an overtly aggressive nature. NATO's activity resulted in Europe's split into two opposed military camps.

The Soviet Union's attempts to create a collective security system for the establishment of durable and lasting peace in Europe were rejected by the West. Nor did the NATO leaders accept the USSR's proposal to join NATO, which would have changed its nature and its military-political orientation.

In these circumstances, the socialist states were forced to take collective measures to strengthen their defense capability. At the same time, they did not cease their struggle to strengthen peace in the continent. In January of the following year, the very first session of the Political Consultative Committee—the Warsaw Pact Organization's supreme leadership organ—adopted a declaration on the need to create a pan-European system of collective security to replace the military-political groupings existing in Europe. All through the years, the allied socialist countries consistently and persistently strove to attain this objective and waged a struggle against war, for disarmament, and for ruling out the strongarm element in relations between states.

[Correspondent] What is the primary reason for the existence of a war threat in Europe at present?

[Lobov] Official NATO circles love to refer to the existence of a "Soviet military threat." Such a threat does not exist, nor has it ever existed. References to it are nothing but attempts to camouflage the really existing military danger which was created in Europe through no fault of the socialist countries.

West Europe is literally crammed with NATO military bases and weapons and ammunition dumps, including nuclear ones. All one need do is take a look at the military organization of the North Atlantic alliance, with its ramified system of commands, staffs, groups of forces, and means for intelligence gathering and targeting of high accuracy weapons, for it to be obvious to even the uninitiated that NATO staffs assign to our continent the role of potential battlefield.

In the face of NATO's military preparations, the Warsaw Pact states are also forced to consolidate their defense. The confrontation of two major groupings of armed forces poses a mutual threat. It is aggravated by the fact that NATO countries pursue the arms race along many avenues. This applies primarily to destabilizing categories of weapons: so-called "precision" weapons and strike aviation designed to deliver surprise strikes, including strikes at targets deep inside the socialist countries, sea- and air-launched long-range cruise missiles, and strategic bombers. The situation in Europe is further complicated by NATO's incipient preparations to modernize tactical nuclear missiles or to replace them with new missiles with a range of up to 500 km.

With a view to preventing the surprise launch of a war on the continent, the socialist countries propose cutbacks in the Warsaw Pact and NATO groupings of armed forces so that they lose their offensive potential; the creation of a nuclear-free corridor along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and of zones in Europe with reduced concentrations of arms; the institution of a European center for the reduction of the war danger and the prevention of surprise attack; and other measures of a constructive nature. They put forward a proposal to start talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including the nuclear component of dual-purpose systems. Their stage-by-stage reduction and eventual elimination, as the socialist states propose, would help reduce the war danger, strengthen confidence, and create a more stable situation on the continent.

Until such time as this concept is accepted, the allied socialist states will be forced to maintain the Joint Armed Forces at the level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency for defense.

[Correspondent] Could you describe the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces?

[Lobov] When creating the Joint Armed Forces, the socialist states proceeded from the principle of ensuring collective security.

Each allied country assigned certain contingents of its troops and fleets to the Joint Armed Forces. Their organization, numerical strength, composition, arms and equipment supplies, and other related questions are determined by each country's government with due consideration for Political Consultative Committee recommendations and in line with its own economic and military potential.

The troops and naval forces assigned to the Joint Armed Forces remain subordinate to the national defense ministries. Their lives and activity are regulated by states' current laws, rules, and military regulations. The allied defense ministries are responsible for the condition, supplies, combat training, and political and military education of the assigned personnel.

The Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces include ground forces, air defense forces, air forces, and navies. All branches of the armed forces are supplied with modern weapons and combat equipment.

An important role in ensuring a high degree of defensive capability in the Joint Armed Forces is played by the command organs: the Defense Ministers' Committee, the Joint Command, the Military Council, the Staff, and the Technical Committee.

The Warsaw Pact countries have never pursued military superiority. The Defense Ministers Committee statement "On the Correlation of the Numerical Strength of the Warsaw Pact and NATO Armed Forces and Arms in Europe and Its Adjoining Waters" notes that the two alliances' armed forces are approximately equal in their combat potential.

Certain historically prevailing imbalances in individual arms branches to the advantage of either the Warsaw Pact or NATO do not give either side an opportunity to bank on decisive military superiority.

Advocating the ensuring of stability in Europe on the basis of the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense, the Warsaw Pact states decided to unilaterally reduce their armed forces on the continent over a 2-year period by a total of 296,300 men, 12,000 tanks, 9,130 artillery guns, and 930 combat aircraft. The reduction of troops and arms is already under way.

Implementing the tenets of the military doctrine, the USSR is reducing its military presence abroad. Soviet troops are being withdrawn from the territory of European socialist countries. It is well known that the groups of Soviet forces are abroad only on a temporary basis. Their stay there is conditioned by the fulfillment of alliance pledges under the Warsaw Pact. The legal status of Soviet servicemen, members of their families, and the Soviet Army workers and employees stationed on the territory of each country is determined by appropriate bilateral treaties and agreements.

The reduction of armed forces now being effected will eliminate, maybe not completely but to a considerable extent, the existing advantages in our favor. In essence, this is an important step in the affirmation of a new historical reality—a turn in the direction of the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense. It exerts a positive influence on the situation in Europe and the world, on the talks on conventional armed forces being held in Vienna, and on the measures to build confidence and ensure security in Europe.

Now it is up to the NATO countries. They must take steps in response and must eliminate the existing advantages in their favor. So far NATO has made no decision on this.

[Correspondent] Is the unilateral reduction now under way not likely to diminish the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces?

[Lobov] The decision on a unilateral reduction of armed forces was made following a thorough appraisal of the situation prevailing in the world. All factors were taken into account, including the peoples' will for peace, the force of the example set by the USSR and its allies, and the political realism of many states.

The fact that there is a broad enough range within which changes in the balance of forces could be effected without any substantial disruption of stability was also taken into consideration. Therefore, the measures being implemented on unilateral reduction of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces do not deprive them of the opportunity to reliably guarantee the defense of the socialist community countries. At the same time, it is perfectly clear that there are limits to such actions. A genuine reduction of military confrontation would require adequate measures in response by NATO.

The Warsaw Pact states do not in any way overlook the danger which still threatens socialism and peace. No matter how the situation develops, we will not be guilty of equanimity as regards the combat readiness of troops and naval forces. Now, when all the basic tenets of the Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine are being implemented, there are especially great demands being made of the combat readiness of armed forces and their ability to repulse any aggression and to reliably protect the creative labor of peoples in the socialist community countries.

Pact Scientists End Moscow Symposium

LD1505185689 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 15 May 89

[TEXT] Moscow May 15 TASS—A symposium of specialists in international affairs and representatives of foreign policy agencies of the Warsaw Treaty countries ended here on Monday. There was a useful exchange of opinions on the theme "fundamental tendencies of the present and integrational processes in Western Europe." Topical political, socio-economic, humanitarian, ecological, military and other problems of the present were discussed in the spirit of new political thinking.

Official Briefs Press on Withdrawal From MPR

LD1505202289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] There was a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists today at the USSR Forign Ministry press center. Dealing with the withdrawal of part of the contingent of Soviet troops from Mongolia, which has started, Major General Markelov, head of the press center of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, who spoke at the briefing, said in particular:

[Begin recording] [Markelov] The withdrawal from Mongolia which started today is an integral part of the unilateral reduction of Soviet Armed Forces by 500,000 men. Today, the first echelons of a tank division and other individual units and subunits are being dispatched from the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] to Soviet territory. Altogether, over 1989, one entire tank division and several individual units and subunits will be withdrawn. Next year a motorized rifle division and a tank division will be withdrawn and also a number of individual units and subunits from the territory of the MPR. Altogether, over the 2 years, more than 50,000 men, more than 850 tanks, about 1,100 infantry fighting vehicles and armored personnel carriers, more than 820 various artillery systems, 190 combat aircraft, and also 130 helicopters will be returned to Soviet territory.

It must be said that this is not the first time we have implemented cuts. As is known, 2 years ago we temporarily cut the number of our troops stationed in the MPR, when an entire motorized rifle division was withdrawn, along with individual units and subunits. That was the first cut on the basis of the statement, or undertaking, if you will, which was given, or was set out by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Vladivostok. Now it is the turn of the latest cut: We shall have cut by 75 percent the numbers of our troops and fully eliminated our aviation group on the territory of the MPR.

[Unidentified speaker] Of course, the withdrawal of a considerable part of the soviet troops from the MPR is a consequence of the serious changes in the atmosphere, in the international political atmosphere in that region. At present, the conditions in which those troops were introduced do not exist. On the contrary, we have a clear and consistent improvement, a normalization, and all-around development of relations between the MPR and China, and at the same time we can see how well relations are developing between China and the Soviet Union, which is shown by the present visit by our supreme leader to Beijing.

The Soviet troops were introduced into Mongolia at the request of the Mongolian Government, and they will be witdrawn fully at some time, also at the request of the Mongolian Government, and naturally on the basis of mutual agreement of the two sides. [end recording]

Lushev on Upcoming Defense Conference in London

LD1505105289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0944 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 15 May, (TASS)—"All tenets of the Warsaw Pact military doctrine member states are subordinated to two major tasks: preventing war, both nuclear and conventional, and ensuring reliable defense of the Warsaw Pact countries," declared Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact. "We consider that in present-day conditions, war cannot be a means for attaining political objectives."

Gen Lushev has been invited to Great Britain by David Bolton, director of the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), to take part in a conference on problems of military policy and disarmament and security in Europe, which is being held by the institute. In an interview for TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy in connection with the visit which begins on 16 May, Gen Lushev said that "the level of military confrontation in Europe today is excessively high. It does not correspond to a peacetime situation and is fraught with the danger of a universal catastrophe. That is why it is necessary to lower maximally the military potentials of the Warsaw Pact and NATO to the levels of sufficiency for defence."

It is thought that Gen Lushev will be received by Geoffrey Howe, Britain's UK secretary of state for foreign affairs, and George Younger, defense minister. There are also to be meetings with Archibald Hamilton, minister of state for armed forces, and General Richard Vincent, vice chief of the Defense Staff. The organizers of the conference have suggested that Gen Lushev address its participants on some aspects of Warsaw Pact activity for strengthening peace and confidence building. A speech by Gen John Roger Gaivin, commander-in-chief of the NATO joint armed forces in Europe, is planned at the conference. Thus the first unofficial contact between the two commander-in-chiefs of the opposing groups in Europe may take place—a meeting which could hardly have been imagined even a year ago.

"In London we expect a frank and substantive discussion on problems of disarmament and guaranteeing reliable security. We will try to explain our approach to the solution of these problems and listen carefully to our partners' opinions. That undoubtedly will further the attainment of a better mutual understanding, removal of mistrust, and search for ways of creating a 'common European home'," said Gen Lushev in conclusion.

'Roundtable' on PRC Visit, Baker Talks, Middle East

LD1405193289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 14 May 89

["International Observers Roundtable" with Boris Andrianov, all-union radio foreign political commentator; Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the editorial collegium of the weekly ZA RUBEZHOM; and Vadim Borisovich Kassis, editor in chief of the newspaper GOLOS RODINY and the magazine OTCHIZNA]

[Text] [Andrianov] Hello comrades. Let us start our traditional Sunday meeting at the roundtable. Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the editorial collegium of the weekly ZA RUBEZHOM, and Vadim Borisovich Kassis, editor in chief of the newspaper GOLOS RODINY and the magazine OTCHIZNA, are taking part today.

The official visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to the People's Republic of China begins tommorow. A Soviet-Chinese summit will take place. Many international observers are already calling this meeting the most important major event of the year. For the first time in the last 30 years the supreme leader of the Soviet Union will arrive in China on a visit. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will hold talks with Deng Xiaoping and with other Chinese leaders. An intensive and in-depth dialogue on a wide range of matters, concerning the normalization of relations between the two countries, on the Cambodian question, and on other problems which are of mutual interest, will take place.

[Kassis] According to reports from Beijing, the hope is being expressed there that the meetings will be successful. Last Thursday, for example, speaking about the forthcoming meeting with the Soviet leader, Deng Xiaoping announced: We shall try to resolve the disputes that have arisen between us in the last 30 years in order to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations. The Chinese leader noted that China and the Soviet Union must leave in peace and concord.

[Volskiy] We know very well how convolutedly relations between the Soviet Union and China have developed. They have followed a tortuous path. This was a path from being allies and of friendship in the Fifties, to hostile opposition in the Sixties and Seventies, to committing the old offences to oblivion and progressing toward normalization in the Eighties. But what, on the whole, is the point of stirring up the past. Now, the most important thing is to look to the future, and one should only draw lessons from the past. One should always remember one of these lessons that is highly instructive: It is not difficult to spoil relations. It is a process that, having once received an initial impetus, develops, as it were, by itself, no matter how much effort, understanding, and good will is expended afterward to bring things back to their normal state, to their normal course.

[Andrianov] However, Soviet-Chinese relations cannot return to their former state. Incidentally, commentaries which are being written on this subject abroad note this. It goes without saying that such publications are not straightforward. Their tone and direction depend to a large degree on whose positions one or other mass media organ is expressing, on what circles are behind them. Yet if one separates out from the material that is coming in the basic point, the major point, there is every reason to say that the forthcoming Soviet-Chinese summit is rated everywhere as being an exceptionally important international event, convincing evidence of the desire and determination of the two great socialist powers to ascend to a new, higher level of political contact.

[Kassis] The Soviet Union and China have on more than one occasion declared the necessity of putting all their strength into creating a new type of relations based on nonalignment and the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and of making efforts to protect peace in the whole world and of facilitating the development and strengthening of cooperation. However, notice how the agenda of the meeting is being is being interpreted, at which the basis of Soviet-Chinese relations of a new type will be formulated. Naturally, the question arises: What gave rise to the necessity to formulate relations of a new type and in what way are they special?

[Volskiy] This is a very reasonable question. The answer, in my opinion, lies in the fact that in our country and in China the realities of the contemporary world and the strategic tasks which both powers face have been profoundly reinterpreted. What has been the starting point for a long time both in the Soviet Union and in th People's Republic of China? Since we are building a new society, taking as our basis already recognized laws of social development, there allegedly exists every possibility for a sharp increase in the speed of this development. Remember how in Beijing they proclaimed the policy toward the great leap, and in our country the building of a communist society was promised by 1980. How all this ended is well known.

[Andrianov] Yes, the reassessment of our forces and possibilities did serious damage to both countries and caused damage to their prestige. The leaders in Moscow and Beijing faced the urgent task of carrying out profound economic and political reforms. It was this which led the Soviet Union and China to a profound reinterpretation of their positions. Now the leaders of countries are striving to provide their states with the most favorable conditions possible for development in the conditions that actually exist. The fundamental aims of the foreign policy of the USSR and the PRC are determined by this. The spirit of realism which characterizes the contemporary philosophy of Soviet-Chinese relations derives from this.

If one speaks specificaly, this expresses itself above all in the fact that the Soviet Union and China are striving to improve their international position in the framework of the existing arrangement of forces in the world and are not attempting, in supporting each other, to change the balance of forces to their own benefit. After all, this would lead to an aggravation of the international situation and to a worsening of conditions for the socioeconomic development of each of the two countries.

[Kassis] It should be added to this that the very process of making Soviet-Chinese relations more healthy is an inseparable part of the process of general improvement in the international climate and in the strengthening of international security, the widening and deepening of cooperation between states in the resolution of the global problems of humanity. With regard to this, one should particularly note the importance and fruitfulness of the current Soviet-Chinese dialogue on such major topical problems as measures for building confidence and the relaxation of military tension in the Asia-Pacific region, and the reduction of military confrontation alon the Soviet-Chinese border.

[Volskiy] It is beyond all doubt that the normalization of relations between the two major socialist powers will influence the general tone of world politics. Both China and the Soviet Union speak in favor of a profound restructuring of international relations, of the continuation of relaxation of tension, of disarmament, and of the elimination and prevention of local conflicts. They favor each people deciding its destiny for itself, making its historical choice itself, and once this is so, the pressure in favor of strengthening peace and security, equality and justice in the international arena will grow.

[Andrianov] This week U.S. Secretary of State James Baker was in Moscow for an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership. He conducted negotiations with Comrade Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister; a wide range of problems was discussed. The sides completed a review of key issues in the priority sphere of arms limitation and reduction.

[Kassis] The meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was a key moment of Mr Baker's stay. The secretary of state conveyed to the Soviet leader a letter from President George Bush. A fundamentally important conversation took place between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Baker. This was chiefly devoted to two topics: the opportunities and prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations in the light of restructuring in our country and the problems of security and disarmament.

[Volskiy] In the course of the conversation the important issue of continuity of policy in Soviet-U.S. relations was touched upon, for in contacts with the previous U.S. Administration a certain capital has been accumulated which, as comrade Gorbachev said, is already yielding profits. We will be able to increase this capital by means of new ideas and agreements. One can speak of continuity, that is, only when movement is continuing in the same direction; that is, if your relations were on the upswing, you should continue that ascent and gain height. The Soviet side, incidentally, is indeed acting accordingly. It is putting forward new proposals aimed at enriching the process of disarmament and cooperation and at securing stability and security in Europe and throughout the world.

[Andrianov] Further confirmation of this was given by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's conversation with James Baker. In the course of the meeting, the Soviet leader put forward a number of major additional proposals connected with our country's position at the Vienna talks. He revealed the contend of the Soviet approach to a three-stage reduction of troops and conventional armaments in Europe; and to both military-political blocs advancing to a level of defensive sufficiency. The specific number indicated in our proposals have been published, so there is hardly any need to mention them. It is important to point out, perhaps, that these numerical parameters practically coincide with those the NATO countries at one time set down, when calling upon the Warsaw Pact countries to reduce their weapons in Europe. In addition to this, a major initiative was put forward on unilateral reduction of Soviet tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and a proposal was also made on an all-embracing solution of this issue.

[Kassis] Evident shifts of a positive nature have also been made in many of our other positions in disarmament issues. The Soviet side attributes major importance to the fact that the foreign ministers agreed to resume negotiations on strategic nuclear weapons in the second 10 days of next month.

[Andrianov] The visit of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker for the first time essentially offered the opportunity to hold an exchange of opinions with the new U.S. Administration on the full range of issues on the Soviet-U.S. agenda. An important result of the visit is the confirmation of the mutual aspiration toward development of all-around dialogue and toward seeking mutually acceptable solutions aimed at strengthening security and stability, expanding mutual understanding and cooperation, and at increasing the positive aspects.

[Volskiy] Continuing our conversation, it is hard not to dwell on the Middle East. The Middle East problem was, as anticipated, also discussed at the talks in Moscow with the U.S. secretary of state. It is important to stress here that, as was later announced, mutual understanding emerged with respect to a multivariant approach to an international conference on the Middle East. Baker in principle spoke in favor of such a conference, which U.S. representatives have previously avoided doing. One should also regard as significant the fact that it was decided to continue contacts and consultations on the Middle East between the Soviet Union and the United States, and to make them permanent in nature. This is very important. Why? Because such a permanent nature of consultations is required by virtue of the very specific nature of the Middle East itself, where events are occurring now perhaps more rapidly than ever before, there is a rapid change of events, a change of political figures, a frequently unpredictable process is under way, so to speak. So, in these conditions it is of course very important for Soviet and U.S. representatives to have meetings and talk and discuss the opportunities for a settlement of the Middle East conflict and an alleviation of the tension in that region.

Last week was no exception in the sense that it was a very strained one in the Middle East. I have in mind the official invitation made by King Hassan of Morocco to other Arab leaders to hold a summit conference in Casablanca on 23 to 24 May. The majority of leaders of Arab states have already responded affirmatively to this invitation; only the Libyan leader Al-Qadhdhafi is still thinking it over, and there has been no response to the invitation from Lebanon, and indeed, there is no one to accept the invitation, just as there is no one to refuse it either. There is as yet no president in the country, and they cannot manage to elect one. On the other hand, there are two premiers at once, just as there are two governments, one of which, headed by Muslim leader Salim al-Huss has virtually withdrawn from affairs, and the other, headed by General 'Awn, has for the nth week been conducting a war against the Lebanese Muslims.

I think there is no need to enlarge on the reasons for the Lebanese conflict, the Lebanese tragedy, that has dragged on already into a second decade. I will only note that this is not just a matter of domestic contradictions of a religious and social nature, or even of that constant pressure that Israel is putting on Lebanon. One cannot close one's eyes to another thing, to the fact that Lebanon has become the arena for the struggle between various political forces of the Arab world and of the Muslim world in general.

Iran has many supporters there among the fighters of the Muslim Shi'ites. Iraq, according to several recent reports, supports the Christian community. Saudi Arabia is spending its not insignificant funds on supporting the Sunni Muslims. All this creates a situation in which it becomes difficult for the Arabs to see their real, common interest with relation to Lebanon. This main and common interest consists in extinguishing the fire of war in Lebanon, the more so since this corresponds to the interests of the world community.

This very desire of the world community, of the leading nations, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, also found expression at the current talks, about which we just spoke, between the Soviet leaders and Mr Baker. As a result, a joint Soviet-U.S. statement on the Lebanese problem was published and both our countries not only spoke in favor of a political resolution of this problem, but also expressed their readiness to offer their good offices. they supported the policy of the Arab League, which is now performing a mediatory mission in Lebanon. That same agreement on a ceasefire about which we spoke was concluded at the suggestion of the representatives of the Arab League. It seems to me that all this on the whole may serve as quite a good omen for the Arab summit.

[Andrianov] Dmitriy Antonovich, as far as we know, its organizers have proclaimed the main task of the Arab conference, being convened in Casablanca to be the working out of a general attitude to the new tactics of yasir 'Arafat, leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, on questions concerning a Middle Eastern settlement.

[Volskiy] This is, of course, an important and not a simple matter, which the conference in Casablanca faces, the more so since there are divergences even between the Palestinian organisations themselves on this.

For example the statements made by 'Arafat during his recent visit to Paris, that such a fundamental document for the PLO as the well-known Palestinian charter had, in the words of 'Arafat, become obsolete, did not please some of them.

True, the majority of the members of the PLO backed the position of the PLO leader. Here, in my view, it is worth stressing the following: that in proclaiming the establishment of a Palestinian state, and then electing 'Arafat as its president, the Palestinian movement has set in motion a broad peace offensive. Its success has been facilitated both by the Palestinians' approval of the well-known Security Council resolutions signifying effective recognition of Israel's right to exist, and by the PLO's official renunciation of terrorist methods of struggle. The results were not long in making themselves felt: The United States assented to official talks with the PLO, and recently Yasir 'Arafat was received with all honors in the Elysee palace by President Mitterrand of France. The Arab and West European press also assessed this unanimously as a new and important success for the Palestinian movement.

[Andrianov] Understandably, such successes cannot but worry Israel, or at any rate those Israeli circles who occupy expansionist positions. Thus they are now compelled to maneuver. The Shamir government, on one hand, is proposing a so-called peace plan providing for elections to be held in the occupied territories, in conditions of a continued Israeli occupation. On the other hand, it is toughening up the repression of those taking part in the Palestinian uprising, the Intifada, which has already been going on for nearly a year and a half.

[Volskiy] Yes, this uprising is quite unprecedented in its length. The Palestinians here are not only displaying courage and determination, they are also displaying self-possession. They are showing that they can submit to general discipline. It really is very difficult to conduct this struggle over 18 months without using weapons, but there are other appeals nonetheless. Last week the Western press exaggerated out of all proportion what was, to put it mildly, an irresponsible call, quoting an Iranian official, for the murder of citizens from Western countries in response to the murder of Palestinians by the Israelis, and for the hijacking of planes and so on. First of all, this call was decisively rejected by most Palestinian organizations and the official Palestine Liberation Organization. The official himself to whom these calls were attributed also disassociated himself from them, stating that he had not been understood correctly.

If one assesses the situation in the Middle East realistically, I think it is nonetheless difficult to rule out both recurrences of terrorism or any other dangerous zigzags in the development of events in the Middle East. The possibility that has taken shape for a settlement to the prolonged conflict in the region is far from being to the liking of everyone, and the growing support for the idea of convening an international conference is not to their liking particularly. In such conditions, it seems to me, the forthcoming Arab summit in Casablanca is indeed intended to demonstrate the constructive approach of Arab states to problems of the region and their readiness to spread to this region the overall process, the universal process of consolidating peace and curbing the arms race.

[Kassis] Now let us take a look at another region of the world. The attention of the world public continues to be riveted on events in Afghanistan and around it. Hardly a day goes by without the mass media turning to this topic. This is the conclusion that the newspaper CHICAGO TRIBUNE comes to in its analysis of the situation in Afghanistan. I quote: Now no one is predicting a fast victory for the mujahidin anymore. Furthermore more and more Western observers are voicing the assumption that sooner or later they will have to sit down at the negotiating table with the Afghan government, having realized that this is the only way of settling the problem.

[Andrianov] But, Vadim Borisovich, we are looking at the same newspaper; it makes note later on, as I can see, of another circumstance. The authority of the republic's government and its leader Najibullah has increased appreciably recently. This has been promoted not only by the victories of the Afghan Army but also the realistic policies of the Kabul leadership which are being received with understanding even among representatives of the opposition. Here the newspaper CHICAGO TRIBUNE mentions the intensifying disagreements and discord in the camp of the Mujahidin who are being engulfed in more and more pessimism with every day.

[Volskiy] Of course one can agree with this assessment of pessimism and discord among the irreconciable opposition, but it seems to be that this is only part of it. One cannot turn a blind eye to the continuing bloodshed on ancient Afghan soil. I will say more. The latest statement from the Kabul government gives specific data about the nature and scale of aggression which is being prepared by Pakistan. This information is being confirmed in the Western mass media, including the United States.

[Kassis] It is becoming increasingly clear that Pakistan's military clique is intending to fling its army units disguised in the uniform of soldiers from the armed tribal formations, that is the malyshi [militia—FBIS] into the offensive against Jalalabad and Qandahar. In other words we are talking about armed aggression by th Pakistani subunits on the sovereign territory of Afghanistan.

[Andrianov] Representatives of the public, and the sensible leaders of many ruling parties in different countries are at this time voicing condemnation at the irresponsible and even criminal actions of Pakistan that are leading to the complication of the situation both around Afghanistan and in the region as a whole. Islamabad must finally realize that the adventurist actions of the Pakistani military clique in flinging their armed forces into Afghanistan may radically change the whole regional situation.

[Volskiy] Boris Vasilyevich, you have touched on the reaction to the events in Afghanistan from outside. In connection with this I would like to say that Abdul Wali Khan, the well-known Pakistani politician, and member of the Pakistani parliament paid a visit to Kabul the other day. I have met him in the past in the Afghan capital and talked to him because he travels there frequently. At a meeting with journalists in Kabul he paid particular attention precisely to the growing tension in Afghan-Pakistani relations. He stressed that it has been caused by the escalation in Islamabad's armed interference in the affairs of Afghanistan.

[Kassis] Abdul Wali Khan noted that if the military adventure is allowed to continue on the territory of independent Afghanistan any further there may be the threat of military operations against Pakistan itself. But Primarily, he concluded, the border regions where Pashtun tribes and Afghan refugees are living, will suffer. I am a Pashtun myself, Abdul Wali Khan said. I am not indifferent to the fate of the section of my people living in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union proved in Geneva and after it that it advocates a political solution to the difficult Afghan problem. It is essential for Pakistan and the United States to halt their interference.

[Andrianov] One ought to note that since the irreconcilable opposition received a good lesson outside Jalalabad many in the West have started to adopt a somewhat different attitude to the present Kabul administration and also to the aid that is going to the extremists from the United States, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia. The press notes that the inhumane nature of this military aid is obvious and cannot be interpreted in any other way. Just think of the numbers of lethal missiles and mortar shells that were unleashed on jalalabad in the space of 1 month alone: 170,000 of them in all.

[Volskiy] this is what also ought to be said because of certain religious nuances. Sober-minded observers are remarking that in Pakistan today the extremist views of Islamic fundamentalists have become dangerously widespread. Thus the party Jamiat-e-Eslami considers it its duty, I am quoting one of its statements, to improve islam in Afghanistan, turning it into a bridgehead for spreading it further north. Even the U.S. press writes frankly that if the Muslim fanatics achieve victory, this circumstance in itself would hit the interests of Washington.

[Kassis] At the same time certain forces still want Afghanistan to be cast into the abyss of medieval Islam. We regard a certain section of the irreconcilable opposition as belonging to these forces first and foremost. Hiding behind demagogic slogans about the defense of Islam the religious fanatics are in effect heating up the atmosphere and fanning the flames of the fratricidal war. they even for example openly call on their fellow citizens to throw acid in the face of women who do not wear the veil or shoot at the legs of girls that like short skirts.

[Andrianov] It is no accident that it is now being said increasingly often among Afghans that the Mujahidin are destroying our mosques with U.S. missiles but kabul and najibullah are restoring them. it is clear to us who is taking care of the faithful and to whom the people are dear. The other day the U.S. company CBS reported, and I quote; the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has not led to an end to the war in this country. A shift in the mood of people has taken place in Afghanistan now and many are beginning to consider Washington to be the main source of the unending bloodshed.

[Volskiy] This is incidentally what the same correspondent notes in an on-the-spot report. People are asking in the market squares and the mosques, the correspondent reports, why the United States continues to supply arms to the Mujahidin which make it possible to continue the war. The journalist cites the remarks of an Afghan trader. The U.S. missile that was launched on this mosque killed 40 people. Why is President Bush bringing us death? The presenter of the CBS program went on to acknowledge that in the United States itself there are critics of Washington's policy on Afghanistan. they believe that the present course does not take into account the realities, including the firmness of the Kabul government's position and is leading to the alienation of certain groups of the country's population.

[Kassis] When President Najibullah was asked in a conversation recently about how relations were developing between Kabul and Moscow since the limited contingent of Soviet troops was withdrawn from Afghanistan the president smiled, noting that the relations between his republic and the Soviet Union are based on the principles of friendship, good-neighborliness, mutual respect, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and fruitful cooperation.

[Andrianov] There we end our roundtable meeting. All those taking part thank you for your attention, esteemed comrade listeners. All the best to you.

Kamentsev Receives World Food Council President

LD1205102389 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—Today Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Council of State's Foreign Economic Commission, received Eduardo Pesqueira, president of the World Food Council (WFC) of the United Nations.

Matters concerning the WFC activities and the Soviet Union's participation in them were discussed during the conversation which was held in a friendly atmosphere.

International Conference on Ozone Layer Held

18000987 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by V. Shmyganovskiy in Helsinki: "Delayed Action Bomb in the Planet's Atmosphere"]

[Text] **During the past 2 years the depletion of the ozone layer, which protects all living things from the fatal solar radiation, has proceeded at more rapid rates than were predicted previously.**

This was the conclusion reached by the participants in an international conference in the Finnish capital, whose goal was to achieve a ban on the production of chemicals that destroy ozone by the end of the current millennium.

The picture presented by M. Tolba, leader of the UN Program for Environmental Protection, did not seem an exaggeration to any of the scientists and specialists. He said that destruction of the ozone layer can be compared to the effect from a bomb that is set to go off: Its timing mechanism counts off the days, hours, and minutes before the "explosion," which can threaten the entire civilization with a catastrophe. Neither atomic or hydrogen charges nor laser equipment can be the cause of this, but the ordinary...aerosol can of deodorant, not to mention refrigeration systems that use chlorofluorocarbons.

...When they were first synthesized more than 60 years ago, the chemists could not but delight in their brainchild: It was harmless, nontoxic, inert, and inexpensive to produce. Now the molecules of this gas which seemed to be harmless to man are called "killers." Here are just a couple of facts: When released into the atmosphere, each such molecule (it consists of atoms of chlorine, fluorine, and carbon), according to data of American scientists, is 20,000 times more effective at retaining heat than the known carbon dioxide—the product of fuel combustion. Freons surpass it in the formation of the notorious "paraffin effect." Chlorine that bursts in "free flight" is especially destructive to ozone molecules. Each atom of it can destroy 100,000 ozone molecules. This, let us note, is while freons that are invading the atmosphere now, during these minutes, can exist in it 100 years from now.

We must give the Americans their due: having recognized the threatening danger, the United States was the first, as early as the seventies, to prohibit the use of fluorine in aerosol containers, changing over particularly to butane. But in other countries, including ours, the production of freons has increased by immense amounts.

The year 1985, as we know, brought a sad sensation: the opening of an ozone "hole" above Antarctica. Two years later representatives of 24 countries, including the USSR, met in Canada and signed the so-called Montreal Protocol, which envisioned a reduction of the output of freons by 50 percent by 1999. Now 36 countries have already ratified it.

In Helsinki they note that the industrial powers should help the developing and other countries to change over to higher and safer technologies. Otherwise, as the newspaper ILTA-SANOMAT noted, these countries whether they like it or not will continue to contribute to the common disaster. There must not be any provision for any suicidal "quota" for destruction of the ozone layer—the newspaper correctly notes.

As Finnish Minister of the Environment K. Barlund reported, the conference undoubtedly took a step forward. The majority of participants agreed in principle that it is necessary to make efforts to reduce the utilization of materials that are harmful to ozone by the end of this century. The vital importance of a complete ban on them was emphasized also by the president of Finland, M. Koivisto. His country has taken the initiative to be free of freons within 10 years. And many firms have announced this without waiting for a government decision.

But still are the current rates and measures adequate? For the decisionmaking mechanism on an international scale is so clumsy that should immediate efforts not have been made yesterday? One can understand representatives of the Greenpeace organization who arranged a demonstration before the opening of the conference—they are demanding an immediate ban on this "production" that is suicidal for all mankind.

Our country, as we know, uses freons on a large scale. The USSR also intends to halt their output.

At a time when important decisions are being made in Helsinki, China, India, the African countries, and our country as well, more and more new items and productions based on chlorofluorocarbons are being introduced, and this means that hordes of "molecule-killers" are rushing at will into the stratosphere toward the ozone layer, threatening life on earth.

United States & Canada

Bush's Texas Speech Repeats 'Offers From the Past'

PM1605112189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Gennadiy Vasilyev "Viewpoint": "After the Long Wait...."]

[Text] The interest in this speech by the U.S. President was heightened by the protracted hiatus in Soviet-U.S. relations. Four months have passed since the new Republican Administration was formed in Washington, yet the active dialogue which had garnered a good momentum in recent years has only just begun to be resumed in recent days. Reports kept arriving from across the ocean that a concerted policy concerning the Soviet Union was being elaborated deep inside the U.S. Administration—a policy which, while based on continuity, would include elements of the administration's own, new approach.

Then came U.S. President G. Bush's speech at Texas A&M University. It was advertised as the first substantial statement on Soviet-U.S. relations. I must say right away: What we eventually heard could not fail to disappoint us. There is hardly anything new to be found in this speech, which was conceived as a policy statement. Instead, old cliches abound. I can only agree with the British newspaper THE INDEPENDENT: "To a world that has waited patiently for 4 and ½ months for a vision of the future, Bush repeated offers from the past and asked the Russians to adopt U.S. positions that are already well known."

It was thought that both sides had learned from the complex experience of USSR-U.S. relations in the eighties that ideological doctrinairism was not the best accompaniment to efforts to achieve mutually-advantageous accords. So the U.S. President's attempt to set for our country some kind of conditions which, if fulfilled, would prompt the United States "to seek the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations" are puzzling, to say the least. Moreover I must state that the revolutionary transformations which the Soviet people are implementing are not designed to win favor abroad. We ourselves, our country, and our people need the restructuring. No one stands to lose from its success. And the whole world stands to gain. So lectures from whomever or attempts to impose their model of the organization of society as a condition of a successful development of relations look both irrelevant and misplaced.

So what is new and specific in the President's speech? Is it the statement that "as we seek peace we must also remain strong"? We have heard that before. Or the resuscitated fifties proposal about "open skies"? Specialists believe that in conditions where spy satellites are in use and the inspection of military enterprises has come into practice on the ground, it has hardly any meaning. Even in the cursory enumeration of key arms reduction matters, the president spoke mainly about what NATO must seek from the Warsaw Pact while making no reference to any steps in response by the West. This dearth of ideas is particularly striking against the backdrop of a whole series of initiatives from the Soviet Union aimed at building a safe, nuclear-free world. After all, literally the day before Bush's Texas speech M.S. Gorbachev put forward new proposals during his meeting with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker in Moscow which remove the main argument of those opposed to the reduction of military confrontation in Europe—the alleged imbalance of forces in favor of the Warsaw Pact. One speech, even if it comes from the President, does not, of course, determine the entire climate. As the M.S. Gorbachev and E.A. Shevardnadze talks with J. Baker have shown, productive dialogue between our two countries is being increased. Ahead lies the resumption of the talks on nuclear and space weapons, which were suspended last year, and of other important talks and consultations. Nonetheless, the U.S. President's speech clearly did not live up to the great expectations pinned on it.

In recent years Soviet-U.S. relations have traveled the long road from Geneva to the Moscow summit—which inspires optimism and hope. The two countries' assets include such specific achievements as the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, accords in the sphere of bilateral relations, and a great amount of practical experience in dealing with each other. Not just the people of the USSR and the United States but the whole world is interested in the successful continuation of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue with the greatest possible benefit for the cause of peace.

Baker Reiterates Support for Updating Weapons

LD1405200189 Moscow TASS in English 1954 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Washington May 14 TASS—Secretary of State James Baker reiterated his support for updating NATO SNF [short-range nuclear forces] weapons as he was making appearance on the CBS sunday news programme Face the Nation.

The Soviet Union would like to see Europe free from nuclear weapons, he said. But the thing is that we have lived in peace for forty years because we were strong, we updated our deterrence and maintained our might. We should continue to do so, Baker insisted.

Baker rejected the proposals coming from many American and West European statesmen for holding talks with the Soviet Union on the reduction of shorter-range nuclear forces deployed in Europe, including linked with the reduction of the conventional weapons there.

Baker said it would be a mistake for the United States to react to every new so-called proposal of compromise.

New U.S. Administration Lacking in 'Courage'

PM1605103589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Manki Ponomarev "Observer's Remarks": "Shortage of Wisdom and Courage"]

[Text] I have already had occasion to write in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA about the time-out in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations taken by the new Washington administration at the start of its activity, and to analyze its causes and effects. This time-out, which has dragged on for almost 4 months, now seems to be coming to an end. Evidence of this can be seen primarily in U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker's visit to the Soviet Union and the results of the talks held last week.

The topic of discussion in Moscow covered a broad range of issues—bilateral relations as well as regional, humanitarian, and so-called transnational problems. There can be no doubt, however, that the main and determining element was the examination of key aspects concerning the security sphere and the sphere of arms limitation and reduction.

There is no doubt that positive advance was achieved on many positions regarding disarmament matters. This was said with sufficient clarity in the official announcement on the results of the meeting. It was also covered in sufficient detail at the press conferences given by J. Baker and E.A. Shevardnadze following the meeting's conclusion.

It must be emphasized most strongly that M.S. Gorbachev's reception of the U.S. secretary of state was the central element of the Moscow talks. It was central because in the course of the conversations held during the reception, they examined more than just the prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations in light of our restructuring, and also because the Soviet leader put forward and substantiated a series of major and exceptionally important initiatives. They affect two interlinked spheres: conventional armed forces in Europe, and tactical nuclear arms.

The essence of the Soviet proposals on conventional armed forces can be described as a program for equalizing the numerical troop strengths and quantities of arms held by the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the two opposed military-political alliances in Europe, and for equalizing them at considerably lower levels than at present. In other words, it is a matter of eliminating superiority—regardless of who may enjoy it—in terms of personnel and basic arms branches: tactical aviation combat aircraft and combat helicopters, tanks, artillery, mortars and salvo fire systems, infantry combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers. An appropriate draft, backed by the other Warsaw Pact states, will be submitted for examination by the participants in the Vienna talks.

Regarding tactical nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union has decided to unilaterally withdraw 500 nuclear warheads from its allies' territory already this year and, provided the United States takes a similar step in response, to withdraw all nuclear combat ammunition from its allies' territory altogether in 1989-1991. This latest Soviet action is organically linked with the appeal to NATO countries, adopted at the Berlin session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee, to begin separate talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe in the immediate future.

How did the U.S. side respond to this? Unfortunately, it must be said that it proved to lack either the wisdom or the courage to assess the latest Soviet initiative on merit, let alone to join it. The proposal regarding talks on tactical nuclear weapons was again rejected, as the saying goes, out of hand. The reason? The same old hackneyed tune: The United States and NATO cannot embark on the reduction, never mind the elimination of these weapons in Europe because of the Warsaw Pact's superiority in conventional arms and primarily tanks. As if there had been no Soviet idea about total elimination of imbalances in this sphere—an idea which on the matter of tanks, by the way, totally coincides with the suggestions submitted by the West itself in Vienna.

It seems that everyone is aware of the lack of realism in the negative U.S. approach. This is what the French newspaper LE MONDE wrote, for example: "Its (the Soviet Union's) message to West Europeans is absolutely clear: You need not fear the elimination of nuclear weapons because we have decided to offer you guarantees in the conventional arms sphere." And Britain's THE OBSERVER wrote as follows on the same subject: "Washington has again fallen victim to Soviet diplomatic skills, because the U.S. secretary of state did not manage to offer anything impressive in response to the latest Soviet peace initiatives."

The shortage of courage and wisdom in Washington is also—or rather is primarily—noticeable in the fact that people there would like to win unilateral concessions from the USSR, to impose conditions on Moscow, and to dictate rules of behavior. This was clearly audible in U.S. President G. Bush's speech at the Texas A & M University, devoted to Soviet-U.S. relations and widely publicized as a program speech.

The most frequently heard word in that speech, delivered the day after the conclusion of the secretary of state's visit to Moscow, was perhaps the word "if." If the Soviet Union does this or that, if it agrees to this or that, if it acts in this or that way, then maybe the United States will agree to something or will do something in response. This applies to the USSR's foreign policy, its approach to security and disarmament problems, and even Soviet domestic legislation.

At the same time, the president essentially avoided giving an answer to Soviet initiatives, including those put forward in Moscow last week. He either ignored them altogether or limited himself to banalities. This gave observers reason to conclude that Washington is still in no hurry to elaborate and announce a constructive stance in relations with the Soviet Union, preferring to act according to old prescriptions and ignoring the commandments of the time which demand bold and considered steps.

One more observation. It was hardly an accident that the first test of the new "Midgetman" U.S. intercontinental ballistic missile was timed to coincide with J. Baker's visit to Moscow. These things are not done perfunctorily. Obviously, this was another instance of a lack of sobriety and realism. The only thing left to do is repeat the words spoken by former Senator W. Fulbright, patriarch of U.S. foreign policy, in a recent television interview: "Even embarrassing for America." Embarrassing indeed.

China

Gorbachev Meets With Chinese Leaders in Beijing

Exchanges Greetings With Yang Shangkun

LD1505161989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 15 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] This is one of the halls of the National People's Congress, the highest body of state power in China. A meeting was held here this afternoon between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and PRC President Yang Shangkun. Television cameras and still-photo cameras recorded the start of the Soviet-Chinese talks. [Video shows medium shot of leaders seated at either side of table with flowers, Shevardnadze seated to Gorbachev's right, film crews shooting the event, then closer shots of two leaders.]

[Begin recording] [Yang Shangkun in Chinese, followed by Russian translation] Mr Gorbachev, we are very glad that you and all the Soviet comrades have come to Beijing on an offical visit.

[Gorbachev] Thank you for the invitation.

[Yang] I would like, on behalf of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, to extend a warm welcome to you, Comrade Gorbachev, in connection with your arrival.

[Gorbachev] Thank you.

[Yang] Time passes quickly, and for quite a prolonged period there have been no meetings at the level of the top leaders of our two countries. And, it goes without saying, there was no possibility of conducting talks on a bilateral basis.

[Gorbachev] Yes, I think you have correctly expressed this point. In any case, it is a good thing that that period has come to an end. I, and our entire leadership, view highly the fact that, at this very important stage, both of the development of our relations and of world history, both the Soviet leadership and the Chinese leadership have shown wisdom and farsightedness and again demonstrated their adherence to the traditional Soviet-Chinese friendship. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Comrades Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Maslyukov, and Chazov took part in the meetings. [Video shows close up of Gorbachev and Yang as they talk. Maslyukov is seated next to Yakovlev, Chazov next to Maslyukov.]

Meets With Yang Shangkun

PM1605092989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 89 Second Edition p 1

["M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With Yang Shangkun"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Beijing May 15 TASS—A talk between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC, took place today at the National People's Congress [NPC] building.

On behalf of the Chinese people, Yang Shangkun welcomed M.S. Gorbachev and expressed the hope that the Soviet leader's visit to China would be fruitful. He stressed that normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, and their further consolidation and development, are demands of the time, meet the vital interests of both great peoples, and contribute weightily to the strengthening of positive tendencies in Asia and all over the world.

Mikhail Gorbachev thanked the leadership of the PRC for the invitation to pay an official visit to China, for the chance given him to learn more closely the life of the great neighbouring socialist state. He noted the importance of the Soviet-Chinese summit for the development of Soviet-Chinese relations, which are being switched to the rails of good neighborliness and cooperation through the efforts of both states.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Yang Shangkun went on record for the active expansion of the mutually advantageous exchange of experience between Soviet and Chinese supreme and local organs of power.

The talk was attended on the Soviet side by: E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister; A.N. Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary; Yu.D. Maslyukov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan; Ye.I. Chazov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR health minister; and O.A. Troyanovskiy, USSR ambassador to the PRC. The talk was attended from the Chinese side by: Peng Chong, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee; Tian Jiyun, CPC Central Committee Politburo member and vice premier of the PRC State Council; Wu Xueqian, CPC Central Committee Politburo member and vice premier of the PRC State Council; Qian Qichen, PRC foreign minister; Gan Ziyu, vice chairman of the PRC State Planning Commission; Zheng Tuobin, PRC minister of foreign economic relations and trade; Tian Zengpei, PRC deputy foreign minister; and Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR.

Addressed by Yang Shangkun at Banquet

PM1605093189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 May 89 Second Edition p 2

["Dinner With the PRC President"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Respected President M.S. Gorbachev and Raisa Maksimovna!

First of all, allow me, on behalf of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, and also on my own behalf, to express warm greetings in connection with the official visit to our country by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Raisa Maksimovna, and also the other high-level Soviet guests.

China and the Soviet Union are close, neighboring countries, linked by shared mountains and rivers. The peoples of China and the Soviet Union are linked by traditional friendship. In past years, Chinese-Soviet relations have traveled a tortuous path, but today we have come to a new point. The visit by President M.S. Gorbachev is the first meeting in 30 years between the top leaders of China and the Soviet Union. In these days you will have a meeting with Chairman [Predsedatel] Deng Xiaoping, and there will also be talks and meetings with Chinese leaders Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng. All this means that Chinese-Soviet relatiions have started on the road of normalization.

Thirty years is only a passing moment in the centuries of mankind's history. But huge changes have taken place in that time, both in the world as a whole and in China and in the Soviet Union. Mankind has entered a new historical period, a period of defending peace and aspiring toward development. Today China and Soviet Union, two large neighboring countries, have decided to strike a line through the past and open up the future; they have embarked on a search for paths to establish a new type of relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. This favors development of the aforementioned worldwide trends, and is in accordance with the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union, and also the peoples of the whole world.

It was not easy for us to bring about a situation in which the leaders of our countries have been able to hold historic meetings. We ought to value the progress we have achieved and preserve it. We ought to continue our efforts to resolve those issues that remain unresolved: Tireless efforts will be required of us to create broad prospects. We hope and are sure that your visit will be able to make—and will undoubtedly make—an important contribution to resolving major issues that exist between our two countries and will thus lay a good foundation for the long-term, stable, and healthy development of our relations.

Comrade Chairman!

Chinese-Soviet relations are an important integral part of the whole complex of international relations. Today not only should Chinese-Soviet relations be normalized, but the whole range of international relations should also be normalized and healthy. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have embodied the essence of a new type of international relations. They are universal norms for contacts between states and the most viable norms that have been tested in practice. We are in favor of all countries in the world—be they poor or rich, great or small, strong or weak, with the same or a different social structure—observing these principles in settling their mutual relations.

The Chinese Government believes that, in view of the evolution and development in the postwar world situation, the peoples of all countries of the world now face a common task: establishing a new international political order based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Giving themselves wholly and completely to the cause of reform and construction with the object of modernizing the country, the Chinese people have an interest in maintaining peace; they love peace ardently and guard it. For this purpose, China will continue to implement unswervingly an independent peaceful foreign policy and pursue resolutely a general foreign policy course of struggle against hegemonism and the defense of peace throughout the world. China is prepared, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, to establish, maintain, and develop relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries of the world. We are sure that if only all the peoples of the world and all states make tireless efforts together, then step-by-step it will be possible to achieve the noble goal of establishing a new international political order. With every day the planet on which we live will become more and more safe, more and more wonderful, and more and more prosperous.

Comrade Chairman!

The development of China is a part of world development. At one time, China was a poor and backward semi-colonial country: It was slighted, divided, enslaved, and plundered. Over the 40 years since the formation of our people's republic, the Chinese people, under the CPC's leadership, have done an enormous amount of work to develop their country. Ten years ago we embarked on the road of reform and openness, as a result of which the appearance of China has changed considerably. Although difficulties and zig-zags will still be encountered on our path of forward movement, we are confident that if we adhere to the leadership of the Communist Party, adhere to the socialist path, adhere to the policy of reform and openness, conduct new quests unswervingly, and rely on the unity and selflessness of our people, then we will certinaly overcome all maner of difficulties, deliver ourselves from poverty and backwardness, and achieve the goal we have set.

The Chinese people have feelings of friendship for the Soviet people. Over more than 70 years the Soviet people have, through their creative labor, achieved enormous changes in transforming the land of the Soviets, and several years ago they embarked on implementing global restructuring. The Chinese people follow with great attention the restructuring being carried out in your country and wish you success in this field.

Comrade Chairman!

Our meetings and the meetings of the leaders of our two countries are being followed with attention by the Chinese and the Soviet peoples, and also by the international community. I am confident that they hope to see a new type of Sino-Soviet relations on a sound foundation, relations of a kind that will benefit our peoples and also favor peace and stability throughout the world. I am also sure that given joint efforts by our two sides, we will undoubtedly justify the hopes of the peoples of China, the Soviet Union, and the other countries of the world. I wish you, Chairman M.S. Gorbachev, success in your visit to our country.

I invite you all to raise your glasses with me to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.

To the health of Chairman M.S. Gorbachev and Raisa Maksimovna,

To the health of the comrades present here.

Gives Speech at Banquet

PM1605102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 May Second Edition p 2

["Dinner With the PRC President"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Distinguished Chairman Yang Shangkun,
Distinguished comrades,
Friends,

First of all I would like to thank the leaders of the PRC for the invitation to visit your country, for the cordiality and hospitality we have felt from the very first hours of our stay in Beijing.

The Chinese capital is witnessing these days an event that is momentous by all standards: Relations between two of the world's major countries sharing a common 7,500-km border are now being put on a solid, sound basis. Moreover, this is the first meeting between the leaders of our two socialist states in three decades.

The way toward this meeting was not an easy one; it required of both sides wisdom, responsibility, and perseverance in removing the negative aggravations and prejudices that have marred our relations for so many years.

Today we have every right to say that these relations are entering a qualitatively new stage, both because our two countries have changed and because the world around us is now different.

The current decade has unveiled China's new image to the world. Soviet people applaud and understand the enthusiasm that impels your country in its desire for modernization in all spheres of social life.

The strides towards industrialization, transformation of agrarian relations, releasing of the people's consciousness and initiative, enrichment of the intellectual culture of Chinese society—all this has been brought about by bold and far-reaching reforms that are followed with keen interest all over the world.

We wish the leaders and the people of China every success in resolving the problems they face on this path and in ensuring steady progress of their socialist motherland.

As you know, big changes are also taking place in the Soviet Union.

The processes under way in our society are best captured by the concept of restructuring. We are dismantling everything that slowed or impeded our development and distorted our objectives and ideals. At the same time, new state and social mechanisms are being formed that are designed to speed up our progress and considerably improve the Soviet people's quality of life.

The radical transformations launched at the initiative of the CPSU have now become of vital concern to the working class and all the working people of our country. This is something that makes restructuring irreversible and reliably guarantees that our great cause, the cause of socialist renewal and of revealing socialism's humanitarian and democratic potential, will be crowned with success.

So, both our countries have been set in motion. However, a remarkable feature of the current situation is that other socialist countries, too, are undergoing renewal. Socialism is entering a new stage in its development where full use will be made of its creative potential.

We also see that the process of change is spreading to an ever-wider range of countries and taking over in the sphere of international relations. The current generations face a very difficult, and at the same time noble task—to build, step by step, a new international order.

Mankind will run into numerous obstacles along this road. The changes that have taken place in the world in recent years and decades are far from being unambiguous.

True, encouraging trends have taken shape in many spheres of international life. One inalienable and most important element of international relations today is a continued political dialogue, in particular on a multilateral basis, in which broad public circles are also engaged now. In other words, people's diplomacy is actively assisting and complementing official diplomacy.

We succeeded in making first steps in the field of disarmament and in initiating the process of political settlement of regional conflicts, which for decades were among the main sources of international tension and more than once brought the world to the brink of disaster.

There is in relations between nations a growing measure of trust and willingness to cooperate in the interests of solving acute global problems.

But it is no less true that the world remains fragile and vulnerable. Military arsenals still exist and are in some respects even expanding.

Modernization of weapons has not yet stopped, hence the emergence of new, even more lethal types of weapons is still possible. The risk of an ecological disaster is growing, as nature is no longer capable of neutralizing the waste of the technological civilization and needs urgent help. There remains a most pressing problem of eliminating hunger and poverty, of overcoming the economic underdevelopment of many countries.

One of the main themes of the ancient Chinese philosophy and, indeed, the philosophies and epochs of many other peoples is the struggle between light and darkness, between good and evil. We can say that these two opposing forces are now engaged in a particularly irreconcilable battle. Humanity is now at a crossroads. In point of fact, the next few years will be critical in determining whether humanity will be able to travel along the road of light and curb the looming threats, or wether civilization will slide toward its end.

We believe in a happy outcome, in a better future. This is not just wishful thinking; this reflects our confidence based on our assessment of the real processes under way in the international arena and the vast potential of political and social forces that stand for peace.

One can appreciate the tremendous measure of responsibility shouldered by every person and, in the first place certainly, by those who are entrusted with the task of leading states and shaping their policies.

In these circumstances every country and every people reassesses their place in the world. We initiated this kind of an in-depth analysis 4 years ago, and, together with restructuring, something emerged that is now generally known as new political thinking.

The main concepts in this thinking are familiar to our distinguished Chinese comrades. We are prepared to translate them into practice in our relations with China.

May I on this occasion resort to the political terminology traditional for your country to present my approach to the development of Soviet-Chinese relations by making three affirmations.

First, we say "yes" to such generally recognized principles of international relations as mutual respect for severeignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

We say "yes" to economic and cultural cooperation, to an intensive political dialogue at all levels and in all areas, both governmental and public. We are convinced that such cooperation will benefit both peoples and will help them better attain the lofty objectives they have set for themselves.

Finally, we say "yes" to interaction of our two countries in looking for solutions to urgent international problems. Of course, both the Soviet Union and China are independent in terms of decisionmaking—each has its own priorities, and our views are not always indentical. Yet a broad area exists in which such interaction is both possible and appropriate. This, first of all, applies to our joint contribution to solving global problems of today and to strengthening peace and security on the Asian continent.

Those three affirmations on which we proceeded in preparing for this meeting vividly show that the improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations is not directed against any third country. In the final analysis, the entire world community stands to gain from that improvement.

Those are the points of departure we have brought here, to Beijing. It is certainly premature to predict what issues may arise in the course of discussions. In any event, I wish to emphasize that the Chinese side may count on our benevolent and unbiased approach to discussing any problem.

Comrades, our visit to China is relatively short and, naturally, most time will be devoted to political talks. Yet, to be frank, my wife and I have come here anxious to gain first-hand knowledge of one of the most ancient and original civilizations of the world and to get the feel of life in your country.

Today we have already managed to see some architectural monuments, to drive through the streets of the capital. And what impressed us most was the openness and friendliness of its residents to us, Soviet people. We saw this in the signs of welcome.

[Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1430 GMT on 15 May carries a similar report which renders the preceding paragraph as follows: "Today we have already managed to see some architectural monuments, to drive through the streets of the capital and meet its residents—albeit briefly. The openness and friendliness of its residents toward us, Soviet people—we saw this in the signs of welcome—have left a strong impression."]

I think this best testifies to the fact that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations meets with a warm response in the hearts of the Chinese people. I wish to assure you that Soviet people entertain the same feelings and views.

I wish to propose a toast to the good health of Comrade Yang Shangkun and other Chinese leaders present here.

To good neighborliness between our two countries and to friendship between our great peoples.

Accompanied at Banquet by Leaders

LD1505152789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Beijing, 15 May (TASS)—Today PRC President Yang Shangkun gave a dinner in the banquet room of the National People's Congress (NPC) building in honor of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and R.M. Gorbacheva.

Present from the Soviet side were: E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee (CC) Politburo and USSR foreign minister; A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU CC Politburo and CPSU CC secretary; Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU CC Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Ye.I. Chazov, USSR health minister; G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, assistant to the general secretary of the CPSU CC; and I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister.

From the Chinese side: Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC CC Politburo and premier of the PRC State Council, with his wife; Peng Chong, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee; Tian Jiyun, member of the CPC CC Politburo and vice premier of the PRC State Council; Wu Xueqian, member of the CPC CC Politburo and vice premier of the PRC State Council; Qian Qichen, PRC foreign minister; and other officials.

Yang Shangkun and M.S. Gorbachev both gave speeches.

Holds 'Free, Conceptual' Talks With Deng

LD1605132189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] As has already been reported this morning, a conversation has taken place at the Chinese National People's Congress building between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the CPC Central Committee Military Commission and the PRC Central Military Commission. Addressing Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with words of greeting, Deng Xiaoping said: I have wanted to meet you for a long time. Your speech in Vladivostok particularly urged me to do this. It demonstrated new content in the USSR's foreign policy, what has been called the new political thinking. I asked for my desire to hold a Sino-Soviet summit meeting to be conveyed to you. Today we can announce that our relations have been normalized. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed full agreement with this.

The conversation was held in a free, conceptual exchange of views over a broad range of subjects. Major attention was devoted to problems relating to Soviet-Chinese relations. In your and our analysis of both the present situation in the world and the nature of relations between socialist countries, Comrade Gorbachev said, there are many harmonious elements that have served as a prerequisite for a mutual movement to meet each other halfway. Today's meeting is the result of this process.

During the conversation certain issues were touched upon relating to the history of Russian-Chinese and Soviet-Chinese relations. Deng Xiaoping noted that the aim of the exchange of views in this instance was to close the past and open the future. May the wind blow away everything that was in the past, and let's look ahead, he said. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed that this fully accords with the Soviet Union's approach.

The thought was expressed that the USSR and the PRC possess considerable untapped possibilities for cooperation in trade, economic, scientific and technical, cultural, and other spheres. On the agenda is filling bilateral relations with real content and specific deeds.

There was an important and interesting exchange of opinions on the destinies of socialism, on its theoretical foundations, and on the need for the national characteristics of each country to be taken into account.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping stressed the adherence of both parties to the cause of socialism, and the relevance of creatively developing Marxist theory, and agreed that there cannot be a uniform model or standard for a new society. The interlocutors touched on the current general situation in the world. It was noted that mankind finds itself at a dangerous boundary, that the policy of force must become a thing of the past, and that the need to solve international problems by political means and organize constructive contacts between all countries is becoming increasingly urgent. In this context, Deng Xiaoping welcomed the shift in Soviet-U.S. relations from confrontation to dialogue.

The two sides discussed the situation around Cambodia and spoke in favor of seeking ways toward the swiftest political settlement of the Cambodian problem in the interests of the people of that country, and peace and security in Asia.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev invited Deng Xiaoping to visit the Soviet Union at a time convenient to him. Deng Xiaoping thanked him for the invitation.

Views Arms Race 'Consequences' With Deng

LD1605050689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 16 May 89

[Excerpts] Our special correspondent Igor Charikov reports from Beijing:

[Charikov] Today is the 2d day of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the PRC. Today is considered here to be the most important and the most saturated [nasy shchenyh] politically because its program entails meetings, conversations, and talks for Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with Comrade Deng Xiaoping, prominent CPC and state figure; Li Peng, premier of the State Council; and Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

The conversation with Deng Xiaoping has already taken place in the Great Hall of the People. Present at the conversation were comrades Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Maslyukov, and Chazov. International questions were touched upon, particularly the consequences of the arms race. Deng Xiaoping highly appraised Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok, which, in his view, served as an important turning point in international relations. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping exchanged views on the main directions of Soviet-Chinese relations.

During the second half of the day, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will be holding talks with Comrade Li Peng, and then he will meet Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. [passage omitted]

PRC President Yang Shangkun, has been invited for a return visit to the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Meetings With Deng, Li Peng Shown

LD1605135489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 16 May 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast; video report from China by correspondent Tikhomirov on Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's 16 May meetings with PRC leaders Deng Xiaoping, Li Peng, and Zhao Ziyang, including recordings of exchanges between Gorbachev and Deng, and recording of speech by Li Peng; Deng, Li speak in Mandarin with simultaneous translation into Russian]

[Text] [Tikhomirov] The meeting with Deng Xiaoping, with which the second day of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to China began, is of extreme importance in the program of the visit. Although now Comrade Deng does not hold any posts either in the CPC, the parliament, or the government, just as before, everything of importance taking place in the country continues to be linked with his name. And that is understandable, since he proposed the idea of the four modernizations and the open-door foreign policy, which are the basis of the present CPC course. [Video shows Gorbachev and Deng, with interpreters, shaking hands and exchanging greetings. Lineup of Soviet delegation, including Yakovlev and Shevardnadze shown. Gorbachev and Deng shown in armchairs, across a coffee table, with their respective delegations in crescent shaped armchair arrangements extending from the leaders toward the camera. Deng also shown speaking and gesticulating.]

His 85 years have included study in France and Moscow, party work in Shanghai, participation in the Great March as an officer, and then work as a political commissar of the People's Liberation Army, duties as one of Mao Tsetung's secretaries in Yenan, and many years of work in the government, in the Politburo, as a member, and then as general secretary of the Central Committee. There was also a time, during the years of the Cultural Revolution, when Deng Xiaoping was twice driven out of high offices in the party and the state for—as the papers and big character posters wrote at the time—being a person entrusted with power who proceeded along a capitalist path. In the two decades that have passed since then, we can probably see quite clearly that

Deng Xiaoping was the first in the country's leadership to realize the whole danger of ultra-leftist exaggerations, and has remained faithful to himself ever since. [video shows close-ups of Gorbachev and Deng in conversation]

[Deng] Three years ago I asked Comrade Ceausescu to convey to you (?my oral) message about my intention—that I wanted to meet you, and that obstacles for that be removed so that our meeting, our dialogue, could be realized as quickly as possible.

[Gorbachev] That's right, I remember, and that was a good stimulus for reflection. It turns out that everything was done correctly and at the right time.

[Deng] One of your speeches provided me with a stimulus to raise this issue. Frankly, the central issue of world politics is U.S.-Soviet relations. From the speech you made in Vladivostok, Comrade Gorbachev, we all saw—that is, all people on earth, as well as I personally—that your policies also have a new content. At the time the term new political thinking probably did not yet exist.

[Gorbachev] Indeed. Just as there was no new international order. [laughter]

[Deng] From that I saw possibilities that in your relations with the United States turning points, transitions were possible, and that it was possible to find a way out of the situation. Possibilities of transition from confrontation to dialogue became visible.

[Tikhomirov] In the afternoon Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met Comrade Li Peng, prime minister of the PRC State Council and chairman of the state committee for the reform of China's economic system. He is 60 years old. He has been a CPC member since 1945. He is the son of one of the most senior members of the party, who was killed by the Kuomintang on Hainan Island. In 1939 Zhou Enlai himself took part in his destiny and arranged for him to study in the town of Chongqing. Comrade Li Peng received his higher education in our country, in Moscow, in the power institute. He was chairman of the association of national groups of Chinese students studying in the USSR. On his return to China he worked in leading posts in the power supply complex. At the 12th CPC Congress in 1982 he was elected a member of the Central Committee, and in 1985 he became a member of the Political Bureau and of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat. [Video shows Gorbachev walking into room and then meeting and shaking hands with Li Peng, with Shevardnadze and Yakovlev behind him. The two delegations are then shown facing each other across long tables.]

[Li Peng] Permit me, first of all on behalf of the Chinese Government and on my own behalf, and also on behalf of all Chinese comrades, to express once again to you, Comrade Gorbachev, and also to all the Soviet comrades our warm greetings. I have heard that today, this morning, a very useful meeting took place between Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Comrade Gorbachev, and in this connection an end has been put to the past and the future has been opened. And in this connection Sino-Soviet relations have also been normalized, and this gives me very great pleasure. I would like to propose that this afternoon we hold an in-depth and wide exchange of opinions of a kind that is frank and sincere on questions concerning bilateral relations and international problems. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 0659 GMT on 16 May carries a similar report on Gorbachev's meeting with Li Peng which adds: "Li Peng proposed that, in accordance with Chinese traditions, the guest, M.S. Gorbachev, be the first to speak at the talks.

["M.S. Gorbachev thanked Li Peng, and through him the Chinese leadership, for the hospitality, agreed with the agenda for the talks, and the sides got to work."]

[Video shows close shots of Li Peng and Gorbachev listening to each other.]

[Announcer] A meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, also began today. Addressing Zhao Ziyang, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said: I have brought you warm greetings from the whole leadership, from the Central Committee of our party. On behalf of the CPC Central Committee, Zhao Ziyang warmly greeted Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Zhao Ziyang noted that the meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping signifies the normalization of relations between the two parties.

Meets With Zhao Ziyang

LD1605113189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] At the start of our bulletin, a TASS report from Beijing: Today, in the government residence for VIP's, Diaoyuti, a meeting started between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

Addressing Zhao Ziyang in the presence of correspondents, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said: "I have brought you warm greetings from the entire leadership and the Central Committee of our party."

On behalf of the CPC Central Committee, Zhao Ziyang ardently welcomed Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. "Your summit meeting with Comrade Deng Xiaoping this morning," he said, "is the climax of this visit to China. I would like to note that you and Deng Xiaoping held a summit meeting, which means a normalization of relations between our two parties—that is, relations between our two parties were normalized not right at this moment but this morning. You probably know," Zhao Ziyang continued, "that since the Third Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, which was held in 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has been generally accepted in our country and abroad as the leader of our party, in spite of the fact that at the 13th CPC Congress, in accordance with his wishes, he left the Central Committee and the Standing Committee of the Politburo. But all comrades in our party know that we cannot get by without his leadership, his wisdom and experience. An official decision was taken at the First Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, which was elected by the 13th congress—though it was never published—to the effect that on the most important issues we still need to regard him as helmsman. I consider this decision to be very important."

Gorbachev Meets Beijing Embassy Personnel

USSR-PRC Normalization Discussed

LD1505193989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1905 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Beijing, 15 May (TASS)—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and R.M. Gorbacheva met with representatives of the embassy and other Soviet establishments in Beijing this evening.

A detailed and involved conversation on questions of the normalization of relations between the USSR and the PRC took place. The exceptional importance of the present Soviet-Chinese summit meeting was emphasized, and the striving of both neighboring socialist states to develop their friendly ties and cooperation was noted.

Dialogue Reported

LD1605054589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0410 GMT 16 May 89

[From the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] As you know, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev late last night visited the Soviet Embassy in Beijing and met the staff and other Soviet comrades working in Beijing. We have just received a report from Beijing on this event:

[Begin recording] [video shows Gorbachev entering a room, followed by Raisa and Shevardnadze; those assembled applaud]

[Gorbachev] Good evening comrades [applause] Is this the embassy? [shouts of "yes"] Hello!

[Video shows unidentifed woman giving Raisa flowers] [Raisa] Mikhail Sergeyevich, listen to the welcome, please.

[Gorbachev] Ah, so there's going to be a speech?

[Unidentified woman] We would like to welcome you to our Soviet Embassy.

[Gorbachev] Ah, that's nice, that's the best.... [applause, interrupts] Because I am not able to make brief speeches, I shall simply thank you for meeting me. [murmurs of "thank you"] We are relying on you. You have done a great deal here to bring about this stage, but there is much work ahead. We are relying on you, and I wish all of you success. ["thank yous" and applause]

[video shows the party walking past the assembled people to a group of journalists, one of whom steps forward]

[NOVOSTI correspondent] NOVOSTI press agency. What are your first impressions of today?

[Gorbachev] It was a good day, an interesting day. I have many impressions. There were the talks, and I had an interesting conversation with Comrade Yang Shangkun. There was an exchange of speeches at the dinner, and we made contact with many representatives of the Chinese state and society and with the intelligentsia. We made brief contacts on the streets of Beijing. We can see that the mood of the Chinese working people and youth is good. They are openly displaying and expressing their liking for our delegation. This makes us happy. It means—I was deeply convinced of this and I have spoken about it already in Irkutsk, but I wish to say it again because I have the conviction here in Beijing that it is so—that our peoples feel a liking for one another, and the wish to cooperate among our peoples has been preserved. And I said to Comrade Yang Shangkun: Well, it's the task of the politician to express this desire for appropriate policies to be formulated for the peoples. I think this will be spoken about tomorrow. Well, it's been a big day, so goodbye.

[NOVOSTI correspondent] I wish you success. Many thanks. [end recording]

Raisa Gorbacheva Visits Friendship Society

LD1505175589 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 15 TASS—The Chinese and Soviet peoples are linked by bonds of profound traditional friendship. The visit by the Soviet leader to the PRC will, undoubtedly, strengthen it further, building new bridges for the further widening of the ties between the public of the two countries. These words by Zhang Wenjin, chairman of the Chinese People's Society for Friendship With Foreign Countries, reflected the atmosphere in which Raisa Gorbachev met here today with leaders and activists of the Chinese People's Society for Friendship With Foreign Countries and of the Society for Chinese-Soviet Friendship. The guest was greeted by Wu Xinqian, chairman of the Society for Chinese-Soviet Friendship, prominent specialists in Russian philology, well-known translators of Russian and Soviet literature, scientists and workers in the arts of the PRC.

Zhang Wenjin spoke about the activity of China's public organisations for the development of ties with the Soviet Union. Cooperation has of late been conducted on a planned basis. Visits are exchanged by leaders, by tourist groups.

Raisa Gorbachev pointed to a large constructive role of public organisations of the two countries in normalising Soviet-Chinese relations. This normalisation has become possible as a result of mutual efforts of the political leadership of the two countries. Opportunities for effective contacts of scientists and workers in the arts enhance now that relations between the Soviet Union and China enter a sound, stable route, she said.

Presummit Mood in Beijing, Social Unrest Viewed

PM1505102989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by G. Arslanov, A. Kirillov, and V. Tomilin: "Cordiality and Hope: Beijing on the Eve of the Soviet Leader's Visit"]

[Excerpt] Beijing—We are writing these comments in the panoramic tower-cafe at the very top of the 104-meter-high Guoji Hotel, which rises like an enormous sail over the central avenue, Changanjie. You have a marvelous view of the city from here, but because of its high prices, even for a Coca-Cola, there are few visitors. At the moment this is probably the quietest spot in the hotel, where teams of journalists of the major radio, television, and newspaper corporations have based themselves and from where your TASS correspondents in the PRC file their copy to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

The Soviet Press Center covering M.S. Gorbachev's visit to China, which has just opened in the Guoji, like the Chinese journalists' headquarters in another of the newest hotels, the Shangri La, have naturally now become the focus of attention of representatives of the world press. But we would not in any way wish to set the two journalistic "centers" off against each other: We enjoy complete mutual understanding with our Chinese comrades. "We are not rivals, but partners," we were told at a meeting at the XINHUA Agency yesterday.

Foreign journalists, regardless of their views and convictions, regard the May summit meeting as one of the main results of the century that is coming to an end. There are particularly many Americans among the foreign correspondents, which in itself indicates the close attention the West is paying to the upcoming talks.

While welcoming the Soviet leader's visit to China, some of our Western colleagues persistently ask: "But could not a revival of the Soviet-Chinese alliance along fifties' lines come about?" Clearly not unmindful of such feelings, BEIJING REVIEW, which comes out in English, German, French, Spanish, and Japanese, notes that the present world situation is radically different from the fifties. The improvement and normalization of PRC-USSR relations can in no way pose a threat to the interests of the United States and the Western world. On the contrary, as the magazine stresses, this will help develop a healthier and more stable basis for Chinese relations with the United States and the West.

It is thought in Beijing that the significance of the present processes in Soviet-Chinese relations goes far beyond the bounds of the territory extending from "Brest to Hainan." In the opinion of local political specialists, the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting will lead to further progress in the process of detente and stabilization of international relations. It will help establish a new international political order and strengthen economic cooperation in the world. And, naturally, normalization will mean the increasing exchange of restructuring experience between socialist countries.

It is unusually fresh in Beijing at the moment and it is drizzling, which gladdens the peasants in the surrounding area whose fields have long been awaiting some moisture. Thousands of cyclists, huddled beneath semi-transparent capes, wheel along Changanjie alongside overcrowded buses; pedicabs scurry efficiently by; and merchants hurriedly push to market the carts from which they sell their wares. From up high, on the 28th floor of the Guoji Hotel, you particularly sense the intense pace of life in the 10-million-strong city.

This pace has experienced interruptions since mid-April. On Wednesday the traffic in the city center was virtually brought to a halt for several hours: Thousands of students on bicycles from 15 of the capital's universities occupied the streets. The characters on their placards read "Democracy," "Dialogue," and "Freedom of the Press."

As Chinese history has shown, students have always served as society's most sensitive barometer. They are the first to react to the country's socioeconomic ills. Let us remember the "May 4th" movement of 1919 and the 1935 "9 December" anti-Japanese movement, which served as a spur to the national liberation movement. But here they also remember the students who were the "pioneers" of the "Cultural Revolution"...

The picture of present-day Chinese society has turned out much more complex than it appeared until quite recently. Student action is taking place not only in Beijing. Sit-down strikes and demonstrations are being carried out by students at higher educational institutions in Shanghai and Taiyuan.

It must be said that the citizens are sympathetic toward the demonstrators. Dialogue is now underway with the students at various levels. During a meeting with student representatives, a group of eminent Beijing academics urged them to resume classes.

The "seismic activity" in society is the outward manifestation of its real problems, inflation and rising prices and unemployment. Around 40 million Chinese are currently busy looking for work. There are sounds of dissatisfaction in all strata of society. The peasants are complaining about the rising price of fertilizer and tools and the low prices being offered for grain. Workers are complaining about the declining standard of living. The intelligentsia is concerned about low pay. And they are all angry about corrupt officials, nicknamed "guandao"-—"speculators in official uniforms." They who, according to the Chinese press, use power to make profit, according to the principle: "Stamp once and pocket 1,000 yuan."

The Chinese are well aware that it is not the reform that causes all of this.

"There are two mechanisms operating simultaneously in the economy—bureaucratic and plan-market. This is giving rise to today's very acute problems," Ju Jiandong, an economist at Beijing's Qinghua University, believes.

CPC Central Committee General Secretary Zhao Ziyang said the other day that many of the difficulties that have accumulated in the economic reform process cannot be overcome without political reform. He warned against haste, noting that in such an enormous developing country as China political restructuring should be implemented gradually. Its central task, according to Zhao Ziyang, is the creation of a legal system and the development of democracy.

One of the central principles of the PRC leadership's policy is that of ensuring favorable external conditions for continuing reforms. The significance of the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations as a result of M.S. Gorbachev's visit is viewed from this angle.

The central and local Chinese press is continuing to familiarize readers with the Soviet leader's life and political activity. We have before us the latest issue of RENMIN RIBAO, organ of the CPC Central Committee, containing a long article and photograph of M.S. Gorbachev and R.M. Gorbacheva among Muscovites on election day. The headline, "Gorbachev—A New Type of Soviet Leader," is sufficient indication of the nature of the item. [passage omitted]

Chinese Reactions to Summit, Protests Noted

PM1505160089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 May 89 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Special correspondent V. Ovchinnikov report from Beijing: "At the Tiananmen Gates"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to China began today with a welcoming ceremony at Beijing Airport, where the Soviet guest was welcomed by Yang Shangkun, chairman of the PRC. The majority of official measures and meetings included on the program for the visit are to take place in the National People's Congress (NPC) building on Tiananmen Square.

Party congresses are usually held in the auditorium of the country's highest legislative organ, and in its ceremonial rooms the country's leaders receive heads of foreign states and governments. The eastern facade of the NPC building is on Tiananmen Square. This is not simply one of the biggest squares in the world, capable of holding more than a million people. It is the Chinese capital's most impressive architectural ensemble, in which ancient and modern architecture are harmoniously combined. It is the center of the ancient plan of Beijing, whose perfection was exclaimed by Marco Polo 7 centuries ago. The capital's geometrical axis, as it were, runs from south to north through the square. All the buildings of the Forbidden City, that is, the 9,999 rooms of the imperial palace, and all the city gates and fortress towers are located strictly symmetrically in relation to it. And at right angles to this line, the capital is crossed from west to east by its main avenue—Changanjie. It was along this avenue that the Soviet guest traveled from the airport today, greeted by the people of Beijing.

The silhouette of the gates of Tiananmen is shown on the PRC's emblem— first, because it was here that the birth of the PRC was proclaimed on 1 October 1949, and second, it was outside these gates that in 1919 patriotic young people began the "May 4th Movement," which opened a new stage in the Chinese people's struggle for freedom and democracy.

This spring, before and after the 70th anniversary of that movement, the square has time and again been the scene of student demonstrations. Crowds of many thousands of young people are gathered here even today. The students of Beijing's higher educational establishments have been joined by a column of their peers who came from Tianjin by bicycle. On the steps of the Monument to the People's Heroes, about 1,000 students are on a hunger strike that has lasted many days. The participants in these mass demonstrations, supporting the course of reforms, demand acceleration of the democratization process and eradication of the degeneracy and corruption of cadre workers.

In its statements on this matter the Chinese leadership has called the students' demands justified, and noted that their slogans coincide in principle with the aims of the party and government. Talking with the capital's workers recently, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, declared readiness to adopt a very thorough and responsible approach to the study and satisfaction of the students' reasonable demands. Dialogue with them is already in progress through various channels and in different forms. However, Zhao Ziyang added, every sober-minded patriot should make every effort to maintain the motherland's international prestige and do nothing that could cause difficulties in the holding of the Soviet-Chinese meeting.

"In connection with M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to China," the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO writes, "people are worried that the holding of this important state event may be hampered by the student demonstrations and strikes that are still continuing in the capital and other cities. This concern cannot be said to be excessive, since it involves the state's prestige. The Soviet-Chinese summit meeting heralds the normalization of relations between the two countries, and is attracting the attention of the entire world. We hope that all the Chinese people, including the broad masses of young people, will understand the importance of this moment, and subordinate all other matters to higher interests during this important state event."

However, the dialogue with the demonstrators that has begun has yet to produce results. Therefore, in order to avoid the use of force in the city center, the authorities decided to move the welcoming ceremony for the Soviet guest from Tiananmen Square to Beijing airport.

On the eve of these events, which have provided a pretext for tendentious commentaries from some of our Western colleagues, Comrade Hu Jiwei, member of the NPC Standing Committee, talked with me.

"First of all I would like to refute the words of those foreign observers who represent the student demonstrations as an obstacle to the Beijing summit meeting," he said. "This is our own concern, not a bilateral problem. Young people welcome the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, approve the USSR's restructuring, and have warm feelings toward Gorbachev. Of course, unauthorized rallies are undesirable. No one is allowed to undermine public order or break the law. But neither should one dramatize the fact that young people are pointing out our shortcomings and demanding that we advance more rapidly along the path we ourselves have mapped out. To be honest, if our countries, over the years of building socialism, have not achieved the heights we dreamed of, we should not blame Marx and Lenin but ourselves. For 40 years we asserted that the Chinese people are the masters of the country, but in practice we were accustomed to deciding everything on their behalf.

"The normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations is particularly necessary now that we seek to restore people's faith in socialism. By putting the past behind us we will be able to learn more successfully from one another. I think you could learn something from us in the matter of economic restructuring. And in the matter of political reforms you have gone further than us. The Soviet press sets us an instructive example of glasnost and constructive, effective criticism. At the moment, we are generating, as the saying goes, 'more heat than light.' Until we restore to the people the sense of being their own masters, we will not succeed. And an exchange of experience of restructuring and reforms will help us find ways of doing that.

"We are proud," the member of the NPC Standing Committee said in conclusion, "that the Soviet guest's meetings are being held in the building of the country's highest legislative organ. Today with Yang Shangkun, tomorrow with Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng."

If, just before you reach Tiananmen Square, you turn south (the people of Beijing do not usually say "right" or "left," because all the streets here are laid out strictly according to the compass points) from Changanjie Avenue, an acacia-lined avenue leads to an archway with the state emblem and the vertical inscription: "People's Government of Beijing." Behind the gates, in a traditional Chinese palace with ponds, rocks, and summerhouses, the city government—what we would call the gorispolkom [city executive committee]—is housed in an ancient building where it has been since the first years of people's power. Because of the citizens' tremendous interest in the Soviet guest's visit, they were preparing very carefully here for the welcoming ceremony. And the student demonstrations added more worries and cares. Although he was very busy, Zhang Jianmin, deputy mayor of Beijing, found time to talk with Soviet journalists.

"On behalf of the inhabitants of Beijing, I warmly welcome Comrade Gorbachev to the Chinese capital. His visit heralds the normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations at both the state and party level, which is in accordance with our peoples' vital interests," Zhang Jianmin said. "Therefore the people of Beijing, like the whole country, say sincerely to the Soviet guest: 'Welcome!'

"Beijing and Moscow, the capitals of two neighboring socialist states," the deputy mayor went on, "have resumed friendly contacts in recent years. We have visited each other and agreed on specific areas of cooperation. It is very important to us to share experience in economic restructuring. The old dogmas are tenacious. It is hard to get rid of the habit of blindly following the plan and ignoring society's real needs. In the years of the reforms the city dwellers' life has undoubtedly improved. The face of the city has changed. But we have plenty of worries, as do Muscovites. The population is growing faster than the housing supply or the urban transport potential. In connection with the policy of improvement of the economy, a number of major construction projects had to be mothballed. And that left tens of thousands of seasonal workers, former peasants, out of work. This summer we are expecting our colleagues from the Moscow Gorispolkom to visit us in Beijing, and we will consult one another on how to tackle all these acute problems. In short, let normalization fling wide the doors for the exchange of experience of restructuring and reforms! May the Soviet-Chinese meeting be successful!"

Chinese Press Applauds Gorbachev Visit

LD1605035489 Moscow TASS in English 0346 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 16 TASS—Today's Chinese newspapers are highlighting Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the People's Republic of China (PRC).

RENMIN RIBAO, newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, and other central newspapers frontpage reports, illustrated with large-size photographs, on the Soviet delegation's arrival in the Chinese capital, on Gorbachev's meeting with Yang Shanghkun, president of the PRC, and on the reception which Yang Shangkun gave in honour of the Soviet leader, and run full texts of the speeches made by Mikhail Gorbachev and Yang Shangkun.

The keynote of reports is conveyed by headlines which emphasise the significance of the visit as well as the sides' striving to deepen mutual understanding.

Under a big headline "The World Public Opinion Welcomes the Sino-Soviet Summit," RENMIN RIBAO carries a column of international public comments, emphasising that as a result of normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations "A new page will open up in the cause of ensuring peace throughout the world" and that "an immense contribution to the cause of peace will be made."

The popular Chinese magazine LIAOWANG, which appeared on the first day of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit, writes in particular that the normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations is an event of great importance in international political life. It, naturally, will have a great impact on the atmosphere in the world and the impact will undoubtedly be positive for world stability and development.

"The Soviet leader's visit marks the beginning of normalisation of relations between our two countries," the magazine writes.

"The Soviet-Chinese summit meeting is of tremendous importance and it will have a profound effect on the future of relations between our two countries. We ardently welcome Mikhail Gorbachev's first visit to China and wholeheartedly wish the summit a complete success."

'Great Expectations' for Sino-Soviet Summit

OW1605035189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 14 May 89

[From the "World Today" program; station commentator Solovyev commentary]

[Text] Dear Listeners: Today we would like to conclude a series of special radio talks on the upcoming Soviet-Chinese summit. In this, the last talk in this special series, our station commentator, Solovyev, will tell us his views about the significance of this meeting. He writes:

I must first make it clear that what I want to talk about is not just another summit meeting. Although all summits are, without doubt, very important, they are sometimes rather routine. For example, the leaders of France, West Germany, and Italy constantly hold meetings among themselves, yet no one ever thinks about attaching any special significance to their meetings. This kind of meeting is but a routine consultation. But when a summit meeting signals a [words indistinct] new stage in the development of state-to-state relations, especially if these relations had previously been highlighted with distrust and estrangement, it becomes something different. This is therefore a very big event. Furthermore, if a summit is a meeting between the leaders of big countries, it will definitely be a very big event. I think the upcoming Soviet-Chinese meeting is one of those summits with special significance.

The Soviet Union and China are the two biggest socialist countries in the world, as well as close neighbors. What has been taking place between the two countries in the past 20 years or more is an abnormal phenomenon in history and a result of the distortion of the relations and principles among socialist countries by dogmatism. The Soviet Union and China, after casting aside the outmoded conventions and prejudices of the past, are opening a new page in their relations. This fact has special significance. Today, the Soviet Union and China are establishing their relations based on a different set of principles. They do not believe that differences on one issue or another should stand in the way of developing their goodneighborly cooperation. Should there be differences, the steps to take are to discuss them, seek common ground, and obtain solutions agreeable to both sides.

Today, both Moscow and Beijing believe that much has been done to the satisfaction of both sides. We attach great expectations to the summit between the leaders of the Soviet Union and China. In state-to-state relations, there inevitably will be problems that need to be solved politically at a high level. Problems of this nature exist in Soviet-Chinese relations. I hope this coming summit will usher in new prospects in Soviet-Chinese relations. I have no intention of talking about the enormous moral and psychological impact of the first Soviet-Chinese summit in 30 years.

Prospects for Soviet-Chinese Trade Viewed

LD1505133489 Moscow TASS in English 1256 GMT 15 May 89

[Commentary by TASS commentator Sergey Zinchuk]

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—By TASS commentator Sergey Zinchuk:

In the past few years commercial and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and China reflected the beginning general improvement of relations between the two countries. There is a tendency to increase steadily mutual trade turnover. Thus, in keeping with the recently signed protocol, Soviet-Chinese trade is to grow 17 percent in 1989 as compared to last year and reach more than 4.8 billion Swiss francs.

The positive shifts in Soviet-Chinese relations are characterised not only by growing commercial figures, but also by the desire of both sides to improve the pattern of their bilateral business relations. Thus, almost a half of the entire volume of Soviet exports to China will this year consist of machinery and equipment, including complete plants. The export of such goods as power-carriers, timber, rolled stock and different raw materials will be continued, of course. Furthermore, according to estimates of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of the USSR, a further substantial growth of bilateral trade turnover will be achieved through the expansion of such forms of cooperation as direct transactions, border and regional trade.

Soviet-Chinese cooperation is developing rapidly in recent years in the realisation of large-scale economic projects. Organisations and enterprises of the two countries are cooperating in the construction of powerful thermal plants and power transmission lines, in oil prospecting and metallurgy. Rather promising cooperation is envisaged in oil extraction, both in the territory of the PRC and in the USSR, and in several other areas.

In the meantime, it can hardly be said that the volume of bilateral business cooperation corresponds fully to the economic potentials of the two countries. In the opinion of Soviet business circles, including representatives of the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, broad prospects are being opened up by such a form of interaction as joint ventures. It is obviously underdeveloped yet in Soviet-Chinese relations.

Rapid improvement of the quality of mutually delivered goods, primarily equipment, also holds out definite prospects. It is an open secret that both Soviet and Chinese enterprises now prefer to place their orders in the West, despite their often higher prices, even for goods that are manufactured in the USSR and China, too. Hence, the question of improving the scientific and technological standards of production is also among the factors capable of influencing the positive development of Soviet-Chinese business cooperation. To put it in a nutshell, restructuring of the Soviet and Chinese economies, aimed as it is, among other things, at raising sharply the output of internationally competitive goods, is also bound to make its contribution to the development of the entire complex of interstate relations between the two neighbouring powers.

Soviet Cyberneticist Views Cooperation With PRC

OW1305200789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 7 May 89

[From the "Taking the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] When Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, visited China in February of this year, an agreeement was signed that established the basic principles for scientific cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Chinese Academy of Sciences until the year 2000, and which stipulated the establishment of direct cooperation and relations between the research institutes of the two academies. The Soviet side also presented to the Chinese side the 1989-90 program for conducting scientific research on selected topics, which involve theoretical and practical research institutes and cover more than 370 research subjects in the most important fields.

The delegation from the USSR Academy of Sciences visited China not only to sign documents, but also to acquire a more detailed understanding of the level of scientific development there. Therefore, many of the delegation's members were research institute directors, in addition to members of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Station reporter (Visheyev) interviewed (Melnikov), director of the Cybernetics Institute and one of the members of the delegation. He then filed the following report:

Founded 5 years ago, the Cybernetics Research Institute is one of the youngest institutes under the USSR Academy of Sciences. Its goal is to solve the problem of computerization in the Soviet Union. To reach this goal, the institute has relied primarily on its own efforts while actively cooperating with foreign counterparts, including Chinese experts in cybernetics. Soviet-Chinese cooperation in this area has a historical tradition. For instance, in 1958, (Melnikov), who was still a young man, and other Soviet experts were already teaching the technology of electronic tubes and electronic computers in China. He has now come to China again 30 years later. He was asked about the development of cybernetics in China during the past 30 years.

(Melnikov) replied: In the past 30 years, China has made tremendous achievements in the development of electronic computing technology. It has designed by itself several types of electronic tubes and developed semiconductor electronic computers with fairly high quality. It has scored even bigger achievements in recent years. Personal computers have been widely popularized in all sectors of the national economy. In addition, it is developing faster electronic computers.

We have learned from practical experience that it is impossible to speed up social and economic development in our country without widely promoting computerization in all sectors of the economy. The reporter asked: Are Soviet and Chinese experts in cybernetics cooperating in this serious undertaking?

(Melnikov) responded: Last year, we received two Chinese delegations. One delegation was engaged in the research and development of a theory involving a new electronic computing technology. The other delegation, commercial in nature, displayed its products, as well as electronic computing centers for all industrial sectors. Furthermore, during our visit to China, the Chinese comrades also provided us with detailed information on the work of the Institute on Electronic Computing and Automation under the Chinese Academy of Sciences. We have agreed on the course we will take in launching joint projects. An academic and trade delegation from the Chinese Academy of Sciences will soon visit the Soviet Union. It is very likely that a more specific course may be charted for developing cooperation.

According to Academician (Melnikov), there is also a plan to sign an agreement on the exchange of computer technology and software, as well as the establishment of joint laboratories.

In conclusion, Academician (Melnikov) expressed the hope that the scholars of the two countries will constantly develop their relations, score greater achievements, and promote the development of science in each other's country. He stated: I think these contacts are not only realistic, but also mutually beneficial from the angle of trade.

PRC Tajikistan's Major Foreign Trading Partner

PM1605102989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "China—Tajikistan's Trading Partner"]

[Text] Dushanbe, 12 May—The PRC is Tajikistan's major foreign trading partner. A commodity exchange contract with a foreign trade company in Kashkarskaya Oblast was a new step on the path to business relations.

Today, in fulfilling this contract, the "Tajikatlas" production association has manufactured a consignment of Eastern silks intended for dispatch to China.

Foreign deliveries will not affect supplies to local consumers. Above-plan output will be sent to China. In exchange, Chinese velvet and other fabrics in great demand here will be sent to Tajikistan.

New USSR-PRC Medical Association in Irkutsk

LD1605074389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] The first joint Soviet-Chinese association Zdorovye has been created in Irkutsk. The Irkutsk Oblast Health Department and the East Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences have concluded an agreement with the PRC medical service. All the preparatory and organizational procedures have already been completed. The Finance Ministry has set aside the necessary resources. The first 40 doctors from China will be arriving in Irkutsk by the beginning of July. They will be treating the people of Siberia using traditional methods of Chinese medicine, involving the use of their own prescriptions for medicines, accupuncture, and massage, and will also give their experience to Irkutsk doctors. Departments of the joint Soviet-Chinese Zdorovye association will open at several times in the Angarsk area.

PRC Economic Reform's Successes, Problems Noted

18250153 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Apr 89 p 3

[Yu. Kosyukov report: "Overheating of the Economy"]

[Text] Beijing-Moscow—Every time the economic news reports come out of China one is surprised at the figures being cited. The indicators for the end of last year are no exception: GNP grew 11.2 percent, and the total volumes of industrial and agricultural output rose 20.7 percent and 3.2 percent respectively. Some 40,000 projects involving capital construction were brought into operation in the country. Foreign trade turnover grew $100 billion.

The figures cited testify convincingly that China continues to increase the rates of its economic and social development. This last decade of reform and the "open-door" policy is also essentially another great leap forward; but this time it is not premature and unprepared as it was in the fifties, when it sank into inglorious oblivion.

Large-scale housing construction is underway everywhere, and in the industrial center of Northeast China, Shenyang, it does not stop even at night. During the last 5 years, 4-4.5 million square meters of housing have been handed over each year to the population. I managed to visit the modern apartments in the high-rise apartment houses that have replaced the diminutive closets of lowly foulard. There are water pipes, bathrooms, and electric outlets everywhere. Gas has been installed in some apartments, and demand for the coal briquettes stored for the winter is gradually declining. And there is no longer any trace of the boat cities on the Yangtze and the Pearl River, where people lived in poverty a quarter of a century ago.

Public catering deserves every kind of approval. In Beijing, 114 restaurants (preparing a thousand different kinds of dishes) offer French, American, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Indonesian, Russian, and Hungarian cuisines for foreign tourists and guests.

Whereas previously, ideas about family possessions were associated with wristwatches, a sewing machine, and a bicycle, now many people want to acquire washing machines, two-compartment refrigerators, and color television sets. For the most successful, the plank of prosperity is being raised even higher: the bicycle is being replaced with a motor scooter or motorcycle. For 200,000 yuan or more it is possible to buy a Chinese-produced car. But these prices are still beyond the means of many.

The major cities have been improved. Each of them now has dozens, and sometimes hundreds of high-rise hotels for foreigners, and large, modern department stores. The successful attempts to solve complicated transport problems are to be seen everywhere. Thus, in Beijing entire beltway systems have appeared with dozens of cloverleaf interchanges in whose honor articles and even verse have been published... In Shanghai a 3-kilometer tunnel beneath the Huangpu has eased the congestion of passenger ships and freighters, which have now been freed of their constant neighbors—the overloaded ferryboats.

The open-door policy being pursued in China makes it worthwhile for foreign investments, accompanied by the assimilation of leading foreign technology. The most impressive here is the assimilation of the "Golden Delta"—the economically developed region at the mouth of the Pearl River, where 5.5 billion U.S. dollars have been invested. This is 60 percent of all foreign investments in China's economy. It is pleasing that along with the rapid development of of the "third" industry—the services sphere—some of the priority industrial sectors are also announcing their output with greater confidence. Examples of this include Shanghai and Guangzhou, where together with U.S., West German, and French concerns, modern civilian aircraft are being developed and the small car production capacity is being built up. Until recently these had to be imported from abroad using foreign exchange.

Behind all this we can trace the great organizational work and propaganda support, and the discipline and order for which there has traditionally not been any special concern in China, but also a good psychological atmosphere in the country. "Go To Work with a Good Attitude, Return Home Calmly": this is probably the most popular slogan in the country today.

However, despite the noticeable successes, the path of reform is becoming more thorny. Both the old problems and the new, sometimes described in the words of the old folk saying, are being keenly felt: "If you pull the tail, the head will come along also."

One of the most complex of these problems is the general "overheating" of the economy and excessive capital construction. Let us refer to an analysis made by the party newspaper RENMIN RIBAO. By the end of last year, it notes, there were 200,000 capital construction projects under way in the PRC at a cost of 1.3 trillion yuan. And the point is not only the enormous financial resources, but also the material resources: In 1987 some 22 million tons of steel, 18 million cubic meters of timber, and 87 million tons of cement had been used at the construction sites, at a cost of 210 billion yuan.

Moreover, the intensive growth in industrial output is characterized by a yawning gap between the accelerated development of coastal regions in the East and the obvious lagging of regions in the West, of which the mass media are constantly reminding us. On the other hand, against the backdrop of the economic and scientific and technical boom, the results of agricultural production seem extremely modest, for it is precisely agriculture that is the foundation of the country's prosperity. For 4 consecutive years now the harvest has been below the 1984 record harvest, and as a result, last year it was necessary to import 16 million tons of grain.

And it is by no means happenstance that the Chinese press is noting with alarm the falling living standards of citizens, who are reacting painfully to the inexorable price increases. Thus, students' rice bowls—the "alpha and omega"—from which they usually eat rice with meat or a vegetable seasoning, cost 1.7 yuan in 1986, while in 1988 they cost 8.6 yuan! The price of a Chinese-produced color television set is now 3-4,000 yuan, or almost double the price a few years back. We should not forget that the average wage of a Chinese worker is only 200 yuan.

Citizens are also concerned by the withdrawal of inexpensive goods from the range available. "Why is it now so difficult to buy tofu?" the newspaper BEIJING WANBAO asked. And it gave the answer: because soy curd is inexpensive and the producer does not make much from its sale. Such phenomena are not rare. The peasants are now gravitating toward more profitable sectors than growing rice and wheat. And the enterprises are marketing their goods at higher prices. Long lines are now forming as soon as inexpensive goods in short supply appear in the stores.

So who today is winning in China in the reforms that are underway? To some extent the situation is being clarified by the newspaper and journal articles based on the results of sociological studies and public opinion polls. One such, first published in JINGJI CANKAO and then reprinted in certain other provincial newspapers, sets forth the following population categories with high incomes in Zhangjiakou city. They include persons with an annual income of 10,000 yuan or more. The various social groups represented include 3 percent cadre workers at enterprises, 5 percent employees, and 71 percent peasants. Workers engaged in intellectual labor make up only 9 percent in this category. In the private sector, 95 percent have high incomes.

The concern of the deputies of the National People's Congress who are counseling in favor of increasing education spending is therefore understandable.

The country's leadership is also concerned about the growing number of violations of the law. The struggle has been intensified against "officials who indulge in speculation—the guangdao—and manifestations of decay in the party and state apparatus. In connection with the noticeable increase last year in the number of dangerous criminal acts, additional measures are being implemented to maintain public order.

Our interest in China is now unusually great. The results of the transformations in the country are impressive. The PRC is counting on awakening the social energy of its billion-strong population and a sensible approach in finding solutions to the far from simple tasks of the times.

Northeast Asia

Soviet Forces Continue Pullout From Mongolia

Departure of Troops Described

LD1505131189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Erdenet, 15 May (TASS)—TASS correspondents Kim Boldokhonov and Vladimir Hrustov report: The inhabitants of this station are today seeing off to the homeland Soviet tank troops who have fulfilled their international duty at the request of the government of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR].

Visiting the tank regiment the day before, we could see that both equipment and personnel were being dispatched in a solicitous manner. A train was already standing on the tracks at Erdenet station. On the rail cars were tanks, mechanized infantry combat vehicles, and other equipment. Tank troops clad in special overalls to cater for the hot Mongolian summer checked over and over again that the military equipment was reliably secured.

A few hours remained before the start of the festive meeting, and major General L.S. Mayorov, commander of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed on the territory of the MPR, gave a short interview to the TASS correspondents:

As has been announced, he said, we are starting the withdrawal of the contingent of Soviet troops from the Republic. The first subdivisions of the tank division commanded by Colonel V.N. Lepikhov today are leaving for the homeland. Incidentally, both the commander and the servicemen of this formation, who have achieved high results in combat and political training and have fulfilled with honor their international duty, have been awarded MPR awards. They have also done a great deal for the Mongolian national economy and have taken part in eliminating the consequences of natural disasters.

Subunits of antiaircraft missile troops are returning to the Soviet Union at the same time as the tank troops. The first of these is departing this very day from Choir station. Another 4 divisions, including 1 tank division and 2 air divisions, are also to be withdrawn. In all, during 1989 - 1990 over 50,000 servicemen, as well as over 850 tanks, about 1100 mechanized infantry combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers, about 190 aircraft and 130 helicopters, and over 820 various artillery systems, will be returned to the USSR from the territory of the MPR. Some of these units will be disbanded, others will be given new "residence permits" on Soviet territory.

I would like to stress, Maj Gen L. Mayorov said in conclusion, that the withdrawal of a substantial part of the Soviet troop contingent which is beginning today has been made possible thanks to the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, to a thawing in the international climate in the Asian-Pacific Ocean region, and to an improvement in the relations of the Soviet Union and Mongolia with the People's Republic of China. It is profoundly symbolic that the start of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the MPR has coincided with Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to China.

The clock shows 1200. Soviet tankmen and Mongolian troops bearing their colors are in parade formation on Erdenet's railway square.

The rally begins. Ts. Namsray, member of the Politburo and a secretary in the Central Committee of the MPRP; Colonel General B.M. Semenov, commander of the troops of the Trans-Baykal Military District; other Mongolian and Soviet officials; representatives of the working people of the town; and young people have all come along to see off the regiment. Here there is also a public watchdog group observing the reduction in Soviet Armed Forces and armaments.

"It is with a sense of profound gratitude, as very dear guests," said the MPR Defense Minister Colonel General J. Yondon "that the Mongolian people are seeing off the Soviet troops, who have fulfilled their internationalist duty with honor. The fraternal friendship and the military concord of our peoples and armies have long and firm traditions and are an object of special pride. In the historical chronicle of our brotherhood in combat, a particular place is occupied by the victory over the Japanese militarists at Khalkhin- Gol, the 50th anniversary of which we are preparing to celebrate. Today, in the conditions of peaceful construction, this sense of fraternity is growing stronger and increasing and serves as a reliable guarantee of the consolidation of the might of our states and of their successes in the struggle for peace and socialism."

V.I. Sitnikov, USSR ambassador to the MPR, spoke at the rally.

This was followed by a ceremony during which red memento banners were exchanged, whereupon the subunits of Soviet and Mongolian troops stepped off in a triumphant march.

There were warm words of farewell, firm friendly handshakes, flowers, and songs. Following Mongolian tradition (?Colonel) A. Shkrobot, the commander of the departing regiment, is brought a bowl of milk on a blue silk 'khadak'—a symbol of happiness and prosperity.

The first echelon departs. Its road lies homeward, to the Soviet Union.

Residents See Off Troops

LD1505181989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 15 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] has started. [T.Lordkipanidze; identified by caption] Tents have been set up in the suburbs of Erdenet. This small town has become a temporary—for 2-3 days—shelter for the soldiers and officers of a tank division which is leaving for homeland. Speaking in the UN late last year, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev announced the forthcoming withdrawal of Soviet troops from those European and Asian countries where they are temporarily stationed. Now soldiers are leaving Mongolia. [video shows Soviet and Mongolian servicemen exchanging badges, posing for photographers]

[L.S. Mayorov, major general, commander of Soviet troops in the MRP; identified by caption] The major part of Soviet troops are leaving for homeland, including five divisions, which include two tank divisions, two air divisions, and a number of other formations and units. The withdrawal has been made possible not only owing to a healthier situation in the world on the whole but also owing to an improved situation in the Asian-Pacific region. This improvement has also been make possible because the relations between the Soviet Union, the MPR and the PRC have improved. It is symbolic that the start of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia has coincided with the beginning of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's official visit to the PRC. [video shows Mayorov speaking to the camera]

[Lordkipanidze] Erdenet residents, Mongolian soldiers sworn brothers, and guests from Ulaanbaatar have come to see tank crew members off, to wish them good luck, to exchange souvenirs, and simply to thank them for service and help. Tserendashiyn Namsray, member of the Politburo, secretary of the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee and Colonel General Yondon, Mongolian defense minister, are among them. Sergeant Major Vacheslav Leskov, tank commander, spoke at the rally on behalf of tank crew members, and (Shankor), BelAZ driver, spoke on behalf of Erdenet residents. A few days ago he was awarded the Soviet order of the red banner of labor. The banner of the tank regiment will be kept, from now on, in the Erdenet town museum. Col Gen Yondon hands a memorial banner of the Mongolian Ministry of Defense to Soviet tank crew members. Soldiers of the two friendly armies march past the stands. Aleksandr Ilyich Shkrobot, commander of the departing regiment, receives the traditional cup of white koumiss. It is a symbol of friendship. Now the time has come to board the train. The train is making its first kilometers towards home. [video shows the rally, soldiers standing at attention, soldiers marching, Mongolian and Soviet military on the platform, the handing of banners, tanks on rail platforms]

Concern Over Sunken Hydrogen Bomb Off Okinawa

Demonstration Held at U.S. Embassy

OW1605004689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Voices are rising in Japan to protest against the recently revealed loss of an American hydrogen bomb in Japanese waters. The accident happened in 1965 while the U.S. aircraft carrier "Ticonderoga" was on its way to Yokosuka from the Vietnamese coast.

According to KYODO news service, a protest demonstration was held in front of the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo on 12 May. The demonstrators denounced the United States for violating Japan's three nonnuclear principles.

As has been already disclosed, 2 days after the loss of the H-bomb the U.S. aircraft carrier "Ticonderoga" stopped over at Yokosuka port.

The demonstrators in front of the U.S. Embassy requested that the U.S. Government salvage the H-bomb from the seabed because of possible seawater contamination near Okinawa.

A written protest was handed over to the embassy guards.

On the same day, a meeting of nine mayors in Kanagawa Prefecture adopted a decision asking that the Japanese Foreign Ministry confirm the fact that the aircraft carrier "Ticonderoga" had called on Yokosuka port. In Yokosuka there is a huge U.S. Naval base facing the Pacific Ocean.

Meanwhile, the Japan Socialist Party and Communist Party have also requested that the Foreign Ministry investigate details of the accident.

Pentagon Report 'Unconvincing'

LD1505153189 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 15 May 89

["Sunken Hydrogen Bomb Has Emitted Radiation"—TASS headline]

[Text] Tokyo May 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev:

The American hydrogen bomb, which fell off the "Ticonderoga" aircraft-carrier together with the A-4E "Skyhawk" fighter to which it belonged and went to the bottom 130 kilometres away from one of the islands of the Ryukyu archipelago, will not explode. This "reassuring" assertion, as stated today by the Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno in reply to a parliamentary inquiry, is contained in the report of the U.S. Defense Department, handed to the Japanese Embassy in Washington. The Pentagon has concealed this incident, which came to light only last week, for almost a quarter of a century. The report came as Washington's answer to Tokyo's official inquiry concerning the accident's possible harmful effects on the environment.

The authors of the report admit that the bomb, more powerful than its Hiroshima prototype, which is lying at a depth of almost five thousand meters now, had suffered "structural deformation" under the impact of huge water pressure and emitted radio-active substances into the ocean. At the same time, referring to nuclear-weapon specialists, they claim that the incident had not affected the environment, since the radio-active substances had allegedly settled on the sea bottom and, consequently, there were no grounds for alarm.

However, many people in Japan have qualified the report as unconvincing, to say the least. Chioho Zukeran, chairman of the central executive committee of the Socialist Massive Party of Okinawa, said that Pentagon's assertions were a "disgusting lie". In his opinion, the hydrogen bomb incident had contaminated the ocean with radio-active substances for many thousands of years to come and was a global problem. The Japanese Government, according to Uno, intends to carry out an independent inquiry into the incident's probable effects on the environment.

Serious concern about the incident, which occurred off Okinawa, was expressed by the Japanese opposition parties. The Communist Party of Japan demanded from the government strict observance of the three nuclear principles, namely not to produce, have or import nuclear weapons. The Socialist Party of Japan intends to raise this question again during the parliamentary debates.

'New Thinking' on Nuclear Arms Needed

OW1405140289 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1000 GMT 12 May 89

[Igor Yurskiy commentary]

[Text] An incident, in which a U.S. aircraft carrying a hydrogen bomb fell into the sea near Okinawa in 1965, has come to light and this has attracted the world's attention. In this connection, Moscow radio commentator Igor Yurskiy writes as follows.

The aircraft in question fell off the deck of U.S. aircraft carrier "Ticonderoga" 2 days before it called at Yokosuka. The fact that the aircraft carried a hydrogen bomb substantiated violation of Japan's ban on the deployment of nuclear weapons by U.S. military command at the time of the Vietnam war. This violation is arousing serious concern in Japan over whether Japan's three nonnuclear principles of not possessing, manufacturing, and indroducing nuclear weapons are observed by the United States. Many social activists, organizations, and political parties are expressing their concern over this incident.

In its statement, the Japan Communist Party pointed out that this incident proves the fact that the United States is deploying nuclear weapons in and around Japan despite Japanese Government's announcement that U.S. nuclear weapons have not been introduced into Japan. The statement also said that Japan and sea areas surrounding it are exposed to a danger of their embroilment in a nuclear war. In his letter addressed to Foreign Minister Uno, Hiroshima Mayor Takeshi Araki called on him to observe the three nonnuclear principles and pointed out that reports on this incident came as a great shock to the citizens of Hiroshima where many people were victimized by the atom bomb attack during World War II. A group of survivors from the atomic bomb attack in Nagasaki has asked Prime Minister Takeshita and President Bush for an immediate ban on nuclear weapons.

Under this situation, the Japanese Government could not look on this incident as a spectator. Expressing the government's concern and regret over the incident, Foreign Minister Uno said that the government would ask the United States to investigate the truth of the incident. On the other hand, the U.S. Government gave a firm promise to Japan that there would be little danger invloving the incident. However, we must indicate that the bomb, which sank in the sea along with the aircraft, was 70 times as powerful as the atomic bomb which was dropped on Hiroshima. Although there is no possibility of explosion, the decomposition of 15-kg plutonium packed inside the bomb may leak radioactives. Thus, the 1965 incident becomes a new and stern warning against the nuclear danger posed by the armament race and confrontation. There have been many cases in which nuclear weapons have been left at sea bottoms or somewhere in space. According to data of the Green Peace, an international environment protection organization, there are 48 nuclear warheads and 10 reactors at sea bottoms. Will it be necessary to continue the armament and create danger in the future? We think that a new way of thinking that calls for negotiations on a phased nuclear disarmament leading to total abolishment and ban on nuclear weapons is rather far reasonable.

Uno's Soviet Visit Effects 'Beneficial' Dialogue

OW1505034089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1000 GMT 10 May 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] Regarding Foreign Minister Uno's visit to the Soviet Union, which ended the other day, Radio Moscow's commentator Dmitriyev comments as follows:

At regular foreign ministerial consultations, the Soviet side disclosed its readiness to allow visits to Japanese graves in Kunashiri, Vladivostok, Artem, and Zavitaya and the Japanese side agreed to make a concrete study of signing an environmental protection accord with the Soviet Union. Regarding the issue of sea navigation, an agreement was reached to hold government level consultations. Frankly speaking, however, while rejoicing such concrete results of the recent foreign ministerial consultations, one cannot help feeling regret. I believe the foreign ministers of both countries also could not help feeling the same. Both foreign ministers expressed dissatisfaction over the current bilateral relations. At a meeting with Foreign Minister Uno, General Secretary Gorbachev said that the dynamism of Japan-USSR relations is, by far, lagging behind that between the Soviet Union and other major nations. At the same time, he noted some progress made in the bilateral relations. It is obvious, however, that such outcomes and concrete results can become much greater.

While noting the issues of disarmament, ecology, foreign debts of developing countries, and promotion of regional economic cooperation for mutual benefit as the areas in which bilateral cooperation can be made, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said that, currently, there is no international issue for which the Soviet Union cannot reach common understanding with Japan. Moreover, Soviet proposals for conclusion of six accords with Japan in various fields, including stable economic cooperation, were laid on the negotiation table.

Foreign Minister Uno, on the other hand, said that closer cooperation with the Soviet Union is desirable in order to urge peace and stability in the Asian Pacific region and to promote social and economic development in this region. He further said that the Soviet Far East has immeasurable potential. From this remark, one can get the impression of inexhaustible opportunities being piled up beside a door which at long last is about to open. The door is waiting to be opened wider.

As you already know, the only obstacle hindering the door from being opened wider is the difference of opinion over the territorial issue. This issue was discussed again at working group meetings for a peace treaty, held in Moscow on 29 April. The meetings were ended with both sides adhering to their own opinions. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said that the situation was not stalemated by any means, but it is difficult to achieve an immediate and decisive result on the issue of peace treaty.

It can be said that a possibility of cooperation cannot be realized for a long time to come should Japan continue to adhere to its principle of wedding the territorial issue to all other issues. As a result, not only differences of opinion on the territorial issue will not be rectified, but also the two nations will lose many chances beneficial to the people of both countries.

At a meeting held in the Kremlin, General Secretary Gorbachev asked Foreign Minister Uno to refrain from thinking about the Soviet Union being more eager than Japan to establish a good environment. This suggests that the Soviet leadership will not succumb to Japan's economic pressure. Conversely, it also indicates that complete development of bilateral ties will create a positive atmosphere for achievement of mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and Japan. In this viewpoint, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's remarks at a TASS interview gave a hopeful prospect. The foreign minister said that the Japanese side does not think the territorial issue represents the whole of Japanese-Soviet relations.

So far, the current negotiations may not provide grounds for thinking that a new chapter in Soviet-Japanese relations has begun. However, in terms of the viewpoint that dialogues and mutual understanding have deepened, the current negotiations are undoubtedly beneficial. At least, both the Soviet and Japanese sides agreed with the assessment that the current negotiations were of benefit. We can expect that a process of deepening mutual understanding, which the two sides agreed to promote, will create greater results in various fields, including the peace treaty issue.

At the interview with TASS news agency, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said that he expects an agreement to be reached at a working group meeting for a peace treaty. General Secretary Gorbachev, at his meeting with Foreign Minister Uno, clarified the principle position of the Soviet Union and said that it was a mutual task to elevate Japanese-Soviet cooperative actions to a level commensurate with goodneighborly relations. He thus called for maintenance of balanced interests.

As a result of the Japanese-Soviet foreign ministerial consultations, an agreement was reached to continue dialogues to deepen mutual understanding. The foreign ministers of both countries agreed to meet again at a United Nations General Assembly session, which will be held in New York this fall. Dialogue will be continued. The people of the Soviet Union and Japan, of course, understand that even greater concrete results will be produced through future dialogue.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Commentator on Results of Sino-Vietnamese Talks

BK1505133689 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 13 May 89

[Report by station commentator]

[Text] The second round of the [Sino-Vietnamese] talks at the vice foreign ministerial level has concluded in Beijing. Our station commentator has this to say:

In discussing various issues, even the most urgent ones, at the negotiating table, one needs time. It is noted with joy that Vietnam and China have done their work in a way suitable to their present-day mandates, namely contributing to politically solving the Cambodia conflict and overcoming those differences that hamper the normalization of relations between the two sides.

The ability to present ones own stance over this issue or that issue and to hear the other side through direct contacts is valuable if such talks conclude with success. Facts show that this success was real.

As the Vietnam News Agency said: During the exchange of views between Vietnam and China, the two sides reached a consensus over certain matters concerning international aspects of a Cambodian solution, particularly the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, the cessation of military aid to opposing Khmer factions, and the question of international supervision. In addition, both in Bejing and Hanoi, there are idential views over the future of Cambodia. This country must be independent, sovereign, and nonaligned.

What about differences? Yes, some differences exist but they are just temporary. Neither Hanoi nor Beijing try to hide this fact. Neither side has achieved an identity of views over the internal aspect of a Cambodian solution. However, this does not prevent the two sides from realizing that the exchange of views is useful. The two sides have agreed that it is rational to keep the talks going. Through the remarks made by the chief delegates, the two sides are trying to normalize their relations. The Cambodia conflict is going to be settled. The decision to withdraw Vietnamese troops from Cambodia by the end of September 1989 at the latest, the promotion of a dialogue between Khmer factions, and the active diplomatic efforts by various nations wishing to solve the Cambodian issue at an early date are creating a new, qualitatively better situation.

Now there is a practical approach to the most complex regional conflict; that is to restore goodneighborly friendly relations in the region, including relations between Vietnam and China.

Cambodia's Hun Sen Notes Sihanouk's Support

LD1305223389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 13 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Hun Sen, chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers, has completed a visit to Indonesia, where he met with Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Hun Sen briefly told journalists at Phnom Penh airport about the main results of his trip:

[Begin Hun Sen recording in vernacular, with superimposed Russian translation] We consider that the talks with Prince Sihanouk were beneficial. They achieved results which we were not even reckoning on. We agreed on the international aspect of the Cambodian problem that, during the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, the sides will not receive foreign military aid. We also agreed about the need to create an international inspection commission.

As for the domestic aspect, it is necessary to note that the amendments which we recently made to the constitutions, and in particular the change in the name of the country and in its flag as well as other changes concerning politics and the economy, were supported by Norodom Sihanouk and met with his understanding. The prince asked for an amendment to be introduced on just one point. It concerns a multiparty system. He noted that if we accept his wishes, which are not an ultimatum, he will return to Phnom Penh after the completion of the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops. In this way, the main thing has been achieved, namely an agreement between the Cambodian Government and Norodom Sihanouk as a basis for the political resolution of the Cambodian problem. [end recording] [video shows Hun Sen speaking to newsmen]

Gorbachev Proposal for Talks Viewed

OW1305142889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Volskiy commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, we now present a commentary by Volskiy, a Soviet writer for a special international column, on the proposal made by Soviet leader Gorbachev for organizing dialogue with representatives from all parts of the world; that is, the North, South, East, and West blocs. Here are Volskiy's comments:

It should particularly be pointed out that most countries in the Asia-Pacific region are at an important historical junction. Will confrontations in the region continue, or will the countries in the region move along a path of cooperation for the sake of development? This is not an isolated question. It is closely linked to other important international questions, including how to overcome the backwardness of developing countries, how to improve international economic relations on an equal and fair basis, and so on. We cannot say that efforts have not been made in this direction. On the contrary, such efforts can be seen during bilateral and multilateral talks of the Nonaligned Movement nations, at the United Nations, and among individual countries. However, no actual progress has yet been made in this regard. Some developing countries, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region, have scored considerable economic achievements; however, most Third World nations are still struggling amid poverty and hunger. Of course, it is no easy matter to overcome such a tendency, and the task cannot be done by a country or even a group of countries alone. It requires joint efforts and a readjustment of our attitude toward development.

In his recent speech in Havana, Gorbachev stated: We suggest that instead of dialogues between the North and South blocs or between the East and West blocs, meetings be held with representatives from all parts of the world. The four groups then can sit together to discuss development strategy, how to continue and further disarmament, and how to obtain more aid.

Disarmament for development, which was the slogan of a recent special meeting of the UN General Assembly, has now become one of the slogans of people who are concerned about the future of mankind. It was no accident that the Soviet Union and China, unlike Western powers, actively took part in the above-mentioned special UN General Assembly meeting and attempted to realize the principle of disarmament for development. Moreover, we may say that steps have already been taken in the Asia-Pacific region to help create the necessary conditions for realizing this principle.

I would like to point out that China supports the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty which is being implemented. As everyone knows, the treaty has been extended to the Asia-Pacific region at the proposal of the Soviet Union. The Rarotonga Treaty, which declared the South Pacific to be a nuclear-free zone, has begun to yield good results in promoting disarmament for development in the region. The Soviet Union and China, again unlike Western powers, signed the protocol of the treaty. Efforts to mediate regional conflicts are helping to bring about disarmament in Asia and to create favorable conditions for development.

It is very important that both the Soviet Union and China support the establishment of a new and fair international economic order, and oppose neocolonialism, discrimination, and the protective tariff policy practiced by developed Western powers against other countries, including those in the Asia-Pacific region. An important aim of the struggle to improve international economic relations in a principle of fairness is to resolve the problem of developing countries' foreign debts, which amount to an astronomical figure of $1.3 trillion. Not long ago, the Soviet Union put forward a proposal on the deferred repayment of debts. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that the United States and other developed industrial capitalist countries did not support the proposal, nor did they express their willingness to help eliminate the unfair scissors difference between the price of raw materials and the price of finished products. They do not want to abolish their protective tariff which, as everyone knows, obstructs China's textile export. This is the harsh reality.

In order to overcome the unhealthy tendency in the economic situation of developing countries—a tendency which also affects the situation in the Asia-Pacific region—we need precisely the multilateral dialogue proposed by Comrade Gorbachev in Havana. The solution of the development problem is a matter of common interest. For this reason, coordinated actions taken by the Soviet Union and China, the two largest socialist countries in Asia, are no doubt very important, particularly when they themselves are being confronted with quite similar difficult and important tasks of socialist reform. Both the Soviet Union and China want to comprehensively promote cooperation of true equality and mutual benefit in the region. They will undertake various actions, either jointly or alone, to promote this cooperation.

We predict that the forthcoming Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, which will completely normalize relations between the two countries, will also help to bring about coordinated actions in this important area. The Soviet-Chinese dialogue will promote international cooperation in safeguarding peace in the Asia-Pacific region. We may say without any exaggeration that this is the hope of all mankind.

U.S. Military Aid to ASEAN Denies Peace to Area

OW1305115089 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 23 Apr 89

[By station observer Ivanov: "Acting Against the Interests of People in All Countries"]

[Text] Dear listeners: A reporter of Indonesia's ANTARA News Agency stationed in Washington recently reported that the Bush administration plans to more than double its military aid to Indonesia during the 1990 fiscal year. On the other hand, economic aid will be cut back. In this report, one can also notice that Washington intends to increase military aid to several other Asia-Pacific countries by nearly 50 percent during the next fiscal year. Please listen to what our station observer Ivanov has to say on this matter.

This spring, the Asia-Pacific region has been keeping a fairly high military profile. Asia-Pacific countries have conducted all sorts of military exercises with troops from the United States and the United Kingdom.

The international community was attracted by a large-scale exhibition called "Asian Defense 89" held in Singapore in mid-March this year. At the exhibition, several hundred companies, mainly from the United States, displayed and publicized some of the latest weapons. While the exhibition was in progress in Singapore, ASEAN countries held talks on strengthening and expanding military cooperation. It was probably the subject of these talks that caused Western news agencies to disseminate the news that ASEAN is becoming a military pact. However, I think this is more likely to be another attempt to make a wish come true. One must realize that, in the past and present, the United States has secretly worked and attempted to make this six-nation Southeast Asian organization into a military pact.

The ASEAN countries have resolutely refuted such reports for a long time. Goh Chok Tong, Singapore's first deputy prime minister and minister of defense, stated:

We do not intend to form a military grouping in ASEAN. Malaysian Defense Minister Rithauddeen also pointed out: The nature of ASEAN is economic. On the basis of this spirit, representatives of other ASEAN countries have also made their stance known.

According to the Malaysian National News Agency, an Indonesian general said that the formation of an ASEAN military pact may be considered by other countries in the region as a threat to their security and will lead to the formation of yet another military pact. This can develop into a regional arms race. It is understandable that a military pact is out of tune with the wishes of ASEAN and other regional countries to transform Southeast Asia into a peaceful, free, neutral, and nuclear-free zone. Many people in the Asia-Pacific countries have clearly indicated that militarization of ASEAN and other countries in the region not only contravenes the interests of people in these countries but also the new trend and political thinking that is gaining a foothold in the contemporary world.

In an article in THE JAPAN TIMES, (Zhu Zhonggan), representative of the XINHUA News Agency in Tokyo, expounded on this concept. He said: The trend of development in the Asia-Pacific region is currently at a turning point. While scaling down military and political confrontation, all countries in the region hope to accord priority to economic and technical development. This implies that in the general strategy on security of Asia-Pacific countries, the importance of military aid is declining. Whether or not the Asia-Pacific region can move into a new era during the 21st century will depend on its ability to become a peaceful, stable, prosperous, and open region in the world.

In this respect, it is natural for one issue to appear. To be more specific, it is composed of several issues. Who needs, and why is it necessary, to increase U.S. military aid next year? Washington has promised to give Asia-Pacific countries such aid. What are the intentions of such enviable and large-scale arms exhibitions, particularly U.S. arms, held frequently in the region? What is the motive when the United Kingdom stubbornly requires Malaysia to purchase 1 billion pounds worth of arms?

It is very obvious that vital interests of people in the Asia-Pacific region were not taken into account. They have no need for arms and have enough unresolved social and economic problems in their own countries. It is apparent that the United States and some NATO countries still consider the Asia-Pacific region the most important market for Western military technology as well as the source of enormous profits.

However, this may not be the main reason. The main reason is that imperialist groups have linked their far-reaching, strategic, and expansionist motives with the region. On top of these two situations, the United States and its NATO allies need very much to retain their militarist mood in the region, and they try their best to keep the Asia-Pacific region in a state of tension. They fabricate all sorts of so-called threats to arouse fear and instigate clashes and disputes between nations in the region.

The United States has openly denied the concept of making Southeast Asia a peace and nuclear-free zone, stubbornly clinging to its military presence in the region, and ignores the Soviet proposal on eliminating military bases. All these are some of the links in a chain.

Commentary on ASEAN Defense Initiatives

HK1605025389 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 13 May 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] On 12 May, Philippine Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos began his 5-day visit to Indonesia. His agenda includes a call on President Suharto and a meeting with Indonesian Defense Minister Murdani and Commander in Chief (Suprisno).

Our correspondent reports that during the past month, there have been more active discussions among ASEAN officials involving problems of regional defense and security. The situation is noteworthy in that new perspectives are being manifested. One question is: What new political initiatives are being taken by the ASEAN member nations toward a more positive stance in the region? Tension between East and West has been perceptively reduced, and progress can be noted in the resolution of the Cambodian problem. This has allowed the ASEAN nations to rethink their defense policies in favor of a more long-term political orientation. If the ASEAN countries revise their attitudes involving defense policies, especially vis-a-vis the so-called Soviet-Vietnam threat, they could begin to look on the Indochinese countries and the Soviet Union as potential allies. This regional grouping could take into account the diverse interests of the entire Southeast Asian region, thus realizing the potential livelihood prospects of such countries as Cambodia, Vietnam, Burma, and Laos.

What role does militarization play in this process? Latest reports say that the ASEAN countries plan to modernize their armed forces. The issue of expanding military cooperation among ASEAN countries is two-pronged. The issue has produced conflicting views and opinions. Some analysts suggest that this process will result in non-productive expenses by the six countries. Others, among them Indonesian General (Suprisno), express the view that military cooperation, including weapons modernization, will help reduce each member nation's defense costs.

There is no easy answer to such questions. The truth is that ASEAN should not turn itself into a military bloc. All are agreed on this—heads of state and regional observers. This is the reason ASEAN should not remain mute on the matter of strategic plans by the superpowers. Furthermore, there is in Jakarta and Manila a view against taking sides in superpower rivalry, prompting a new review of the foreign nuclear threat in the region.

Indonesia has proposed that Southeast Asia be declared a nuclear-free zone. The Philippine Constitution bans nuclear weapons on Philippine territory. While it is true that the ASEAN nations are not about to engage in hostile relations with their traditional partners, it is obvious that the grouping is seeking more freedom to solve its problems of national defense and regional security and that it is considering alternatives in the face of the age-old superpower race. In the long run, this could result in a positive role for the Asia-Pacific region.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Aid to UNITA Against 'Spirit' of Namibia Deal

PM1105145789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 May 89 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "UNITA Rushing the United States"]

[Text] The UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] terrorist grouping operating in Angola has literally inundated the U.S. Administration with requests for aid and for an increase in the sacle of the aid. "We urgently need the United States to give us immediate help," M. Samondo [name as transliterated], UNITA spokesman in Washington, has stated, for instance. At the same time, he reported that back in February this year the grouping's leadership handed the Bush administration a list of $80 millions' worth of combat weaponry and supplies which UNITA wants to obtain from the United States. This "shopping list" includes, in particular, modernized Stinger-POST surface-to-air missiles, long-range guns, and antitank weapons.

It is, of course, no accident that UNITA should turn to Washington for immediate help. Back in 1986 Washington supplied the anti-Angolan grouping with weapons worth $15 million. Since then aid has been increasing and has now reached $30 million. Until this year U.S. military shipments were regularly supplied to bandit formations via Namibian territory. However, because the UN plan for granting independence to Namibia has started to be implemented, UNITA has lost the ability to use its rear bases and supply routes there. The tripartite agreements signed in December 1988 in New York on a settlement in southwest Africa compel Pretoria to completely end its support for UNITA. This has had an immediate effect on the scale of its armed struggle. The grouping is now no longer capable of carrying out major operations, and, avoiding direct clashes with regular units, is restricting itself to just terrorist raids against the civilian population.

To justify in some way the urgency of sending aid and sharply increasing its level, the UNITA leadership has been stating that "the Soviets or Cubans have started supplying the Angolan Army with state-of-the-art aircraft" and that the Angolan Army is "preparing for a major new offensive against UNITA formations." There is not a grain of truth in these allegations. And this is even confirmed by Pentagon staffers. Judging by their statements quoted by THE WASHINGTON POST, the Pentagon has no information to show that "state-of-the-art aircraft" have arrived in Angola. As for the proposed Angolan Army offensive, Luanda has, on the contrary, temporarily suspended combat operations against the rebels. And this has been done to allow UNITA members time to think and take advantage of the amnesty law to lay down their arms.

The UNITA ringleaders' desire to obtain major new consignments of U.S. weapons demonstrates their reluctance to stop the criminal war against their own people—a war which has already cost the lives of thousands of civilians—and reaffirms their refusal to accept the national reconciliation policy proclaimed by Luanda. Angola has to spend enormous amounts on rebuffing the UNITA gangs instead of using the money to improve the position of its people. That is why M. Pacavira, Angolan permanent representative at the United Nations, has called on the Bush administration to pursue a more realistic policy if it really wants to bring about national reconciliation in Angola, and to stop giving military aid to UNITA. "Washington will not succeed in bringing internal peace to Angola by supplying the rebels with large quantities of weapons and money," M. Pacavira stated.

What about Washington? As is clear from U.S. press reports, certain circles in the U.S. capital are lobbying for continued support for UNITA, and to an even greater extent than before. For instance, CIA specialists have already worked out a detailed plan for increasing military shipments to UNITA members. The main role in this plan would be played by the airbase at Kamina in the southern Zairian province of Shaba.

In conclusion, it should be recalled that by helping the UNITA terrorists and by developing plans for further military support for them, the United States is interfering in the internal affairs of people's Angola. By so doing, Washington is thereby contravening the spirit of the agreements on a peaceful settlement in South-West Africa—agreements which were achieved, incidentally, through U.S. mediation.

Officials From Angola, Cuba, South Africa Meet

LD1505192889 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Luanda May 15 TASS—Officials from Angola, Cuba and South Africa gathered at Ruacana, south Angola, for an extraordinary meeting Monday to sum up results of a two-week verification of the withdrawal of

SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organisation) troops from Namibia and their placement on Angolan territory north of the 16th parallel.

The decision to convene the meeting had been taken by the officials at their previous meeting in Capetown, South Africa, late last April.

The withdrawal of SWAPO guerrillas, which was over on May 13, is to be followed by the withdrawal of South African troops to their bases. These moves will restore the situation which existed before April 1 when SWAPO groups and units of the South African Army clashed in northern Namibia.

Angolan radio said that the meeting, which is also attended by Soviet and U.S. observers, is of decisive importance as the resumption of the fulfillment of the U.N. Namibian independence plan, stopped by the clashes, will depend on its results.

East Europe

Yazov Interviewed on Delegation's Visit to CSSR

LD1305192189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 13 May 89

[Interview with USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov by news editor Ivan Miertan; Yazov speaks in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Miertan] Comrade Minister, at the end of visits it is usual to evaluate their aims and goals. How do you evaluate the results of the visit by your military delegation to our country?

[Yazov] We came to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of your minister of defense, Army General Milan Vaclavik, with the aim of becoming acquainted with the life and everyday combat training of members of the Czechoslovak People's Army. We visited units of the western military district; we were invited to the Military Academy in Vyskov, and they showed us modern training machine technology and training for tank drivers and live firing of these battle vehicles and artillery. I must say that despite the high battle readiness of our Army there were things we could learn. The main goal of our visit, then, was exchange of experiences. Apart from this here in your country the central group of our forces is deployed. We were therefore interested in how they coordinate their activity and how they cooperate with the Czechoslovak Army. As we saw, the level of cooperation is very high.

For me, personally, this visit was all the more pleasant because I worked here in Czechoslovakia, as the commander of the already mentioned Central Group of Soviet Forces in 1979-1980. My impressions: Everything is blooming here. During May we remember together the significant aniversary that links our nations and brings them closer. For us the day of victory is 9 May, for them it is the day of liberation. Together we honored the memory of those who laid down their lives for this great day, the memory of our and your soldiers. We also visited some of your enterprises and the agricultural combine, Slusovice. All this left a great impression on us.

[Miertan] Let us now look at some of the important current aspects of the present disarmament talks. Within their complex is also the unilateral reduction in the Soviet Armed Forces in the countries of Eastern Europe. Precisely today, for example, the transfer of the motorized battalion of the Central Group of Soviet Forces form Olomouc back to the Soviet Union began. How do you evaluate this process?

[Yazov] Naturally, cooperation between our fraternal parties, states, nations, and armies always had and will have as its point of departure the content of the words: building socialism. Above all, we would all jointly like to see above all peaceful socialism. Only during peaceful existence can we fully show its possibilities and its creative potential. I will put it even more simply. Only with peaceful existence and gradual disarmament can we build socialism which is worthy of its name, a system which gives a chance to fully implement the potential talent, capabilities, initiative, and creativity of the people and the entire society.

The withdrawal of Soviet forces is a well-thought-out step. It comes from the logic of the new political thinking, from the priority of all-human values and our joint effort to replace the word confrontation with the word cooperation in relations between East and West. At the same time, however, we must not forget that precisely at this time when the numbers of the armies of socialist countries are being reduced, vigilance and the reliability of the system of our defense must be increased. This responsibility is borne by us all. Look, many speculate that our present foreign-political line is not just temporary, that is, they cast doubt on the results and success of restructuring. But in our country, and as I saw also in yours, it is gaining tempo and new dimensions. Naturally, it is not without problems and shortcomings, they do exist. But we are fighting against them precisely in the process of restructuring.

[Miertan] Comrade Minister, you recalled some doubts which are so often spoken of in the West. Some observers allege that these are causing the excessive caution of the new U.S. Government in the disarmament talks with the Soviet Union. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker recently ended his first visit to the Soviet Union. During the time of his talks in Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachev came forward with a new peace initiative concerning the unilateral withdrawal of 500 tactical nuclear missiles from the territory of the allies of the Soviet Union within the Warsaw Pact. What is your opinion of this further disarmament proposal?

[Yazov] I think that similar steps in disarmament will also be taken by the Soviet Union in the future. Of course, not ad infinitum. Why am I saying not ad infinitum? It is because whatever we offer to the U.S. and NATO, they look at our every proposal for a very long time and generally will not accept it. They look first for every possible gain they can get from these proposals, gain just for themselves, that is. Within NATO there is an argument regarding the modernization of tactical nuclear missiles. Nevertheless, at the same time, it is known in Washington that according to the treaty on the elimination of two types of nuclear missiles, the Soviet Union eliminates also missiles classified as AK, with the range up to 500 km. NATO, though, considers the possibility of the modernization of Lance missiles exactly of the same range. Where is the logic then?

We eliminate our weapons and they develop new ones. One should think that in signing the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the Americans have simply deceived us. A similar statement could seem undiplomatic, but facts are facts. I am mostly drawing on them when I state that we are not going to take steps in unilateral disarmament ad infinitum if we are not going to have a partner.

I do remember that George Bush very often speaks about his policy as one that continues the policy of Ronald Reagan. Nevertheless, as was shown by his latest statements as well as statements by U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney, the continuity is there only regarding the former attitude by Reagan that all questions linked with the Soviet Union will be dealt with by the United States from the position of strength.

By the way, according to my view, Baker's visit to Moscow also confirmed that Washington would in the future strive for unilateral concessions from our side, to be achieved through tactics, pressure, and rigidity.

But I ask once again, where is the logic here? On one side, the Americans and NATO cry that we are stronger, that we threaten them, that we have superiority in these and those weapons. On the other hand, they hold talks with us from the position of strength. Details from the first round of talks held by James Baker with Eduard Shevardnadze and Mikhail Gorbachev will be available to me only at home. Only there we will be able to more precisely assess the talks' results. Let me allow at the end to thank for cordial and sincere welcome of our entire Army delegation in Czechoslovakia.

Walesa Calls for End to Strikes

PM1505091389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Walesa Speech"]

[Text] "Solidarity" chairman Lech Walesa has held his weekly press conference in Gdansk.

He told journalists that it is necessary to stop the anarchy, demonstrations, and strikes. The country must have peace, because it is a matter not of the interests of individual groups but of the future of Poland as a whole. Strikes could destroy the possibility of political transformations in the country. The West is not going to help the Poles if the situation in Poland is unstable, he said.

Polish Party Publishes Document on Stalinism

PM1205144789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Conference on Consequences of Stalinism"]

[Text] Warsaw, 11 May—The revolutionary restructuring program being implemented in the Soviet Union is of fundamental importance for the future of the entire socialist system and for ridding it once and for all of the burden of Stalinism. The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] national delegate conference on the question of removing the remnants and consequences of Stalinism in Poland, published here today, stresses this thesis. The similarity of the development paths determined by Polish renewal and Soviet restructuring imparts particular significance to the close PZPR-CPSU cooperation in interpreting and removing the negative heritage of complex phenomena in our common history.

The document indicates that it is the party's political and moral duty to provide effective guarantees to completely rule out any recurrence of the centralized, bureaucratic, undemocratic system of leadership of the state, economy, and society. The struggle against relics of this system is an international one since it is an inevitable condition of the development of socialism in its renewed form.

Stalinism, the document says, was a tragedy for the Soviet peoples, who suffered the most. It also caused other peoples and the entire international communist and workers movement numerous losses and privations. Like other states that embarked on the socialist path of transformations, Poland was painfully aware of the results of Stalinism in all areas of its life. The unwarranted, lawless repressions affected thousands of citizens. However, the truth about that time requires that illegal repressions be distinguished from justified legal self-defense on the part of the people's state and the new system in the face of internal and external adversaries.

The PZPR national delegate conference noted that a nation cannot build a happy future on a denial of its achievements. The past cannot be scientifically assessed in isolation from the complex historical situation of the time, guided exclusively by emotions or transient political considerations. The past must be assessed honestly. Stalinist distortions cannot erase the true achievements of the time: the social, economic, and cultural flourishing of the people's masses, the great era of reconstruction of war-ravaged Poland, and the construction of mighty foundations for the country's civilized development.

The conference resolutely opposed attempts at antisocialist speculation on the sensitive areas of history and, in particular, the equating of Stalinist distortions with the essence of socialism.

Soviet-Hungarian Border Formalities Detailed

18000927 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by F. Ivanov, IZVESTIYA special correspondent, Chop- Uzhgorod: "Abroad—On a Pass"]

[Text] **New rules for a simplified transit of the Soviet-Hungarian border have been put into effect in Transcarpathia.**

We heard about this for the first time in 1985. At that time the first governmental agreements between the USSR and Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Romania were signed, according to which residents of 150 border settlements were given an opportunity to visit their relatives without border passports and visas. Of course, as previously, invitations, telephone calls, and proof of kinship were required to obtain a permit....

And then, at the beginning of this year, Hungarian representatives proposed signing a new agreement. Now, no papers of any kind will be required; a desire to visit a neighboring country will be sufficient. The agreement itself is still in the developmental stage, but on 13 January, a verbal note was signed in the USSR MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], according to which these innovations (as an experiment) will apply to four rayons of the Transcarpathian Oblast—Uzhgorodskiy, Beregovskiy, Vinogradovskiy, and Mukachevskiy. The experiment was started on 1 March, and this is the first result: in 2 months more than 250,000 persons passed through the simplified transit border checkpoint in both directions.

... The "Luzhanka" KPP [border crossing checkpoint] is one of these. At the time that I arrived here, on the highway that leads to the border, there was a long line of motor vehicles. I got to talking to the owner of one of them, S. Sidorets, a worker from Mukachevo.

"The new border transit rules are very convenient for us. My relatives live on that side, in Hungary. Previously, to visit them required getting an invitation, and then going from office to office to prove kinship. In a word, we rarely saw each other. And now we can at least visit each other every week. Today, you see—nodding in the direction of his car—the entire family is going. But on the next days off, we expect to have guests visiting us."

The new transit rules have also made it possible for those who do not have either relatives or close friends in Hungary to cross the border without any difficulty. I also got acquainted with one of them at "Luzhanka," P. Golovko, a resident of Mukachevo.

"Speaking frankly, I did not even think that I would be able to cross the border some day," said Petr Ivanovich, who did not conceal his joy, "because I do not have any friends in Hungary. And this is such an event! What will I do there? I am going for one day in my car. I want to look around, see how people live there, and make comparisons."

In the first days of the experiment, there was a mass of people who desired to go abroad. Hundreds, and even thousands, of Transcarpathian residents wrote applications requesting the issuance of passes. But the trouble is that many of the services that arrange transit were simply unprepared to serve so many people at once.

... Colonel N. Fedotov drove me to the "Luzhanka" KPP. Two months of the experiment also affected his service sharply, and the service of many of his subordinates as well.

"Understand me correctly," Nikolay Pavlovich explains, "I am not a conservative, and I can only welcome the experiment itself, and the future agreement. But as a sensible person, I do not cease to be amazed why it is on us, the border guards, that they practically completely 'unloaded' the performance of this experiment?

"Our duty is to protect the border; however, since 1 March a big part of the personnel are occupied with one thing—writing out tens, hundreds, and even thousands of passes. Several persons 'knock out' blank passes on printers."

From the very first days it became clear that the simplified transit checkpoints were absolutely not planned for an overload. The "Luzhanka" KPP, for example, is capable of passing several hundred vehicles a day, but it passes thousands. Military border guards stand for days either under a hot sun or in wind and rain—there is not even a simple open-sided shed at the post.

The situation is even worse at the "Chop" KPP. Here, at the main southern gates of the country, it is possible to stand a whole day in a traffic jam, because, in addition to those who are transiting the border according to the new rules, there are also cargo vehicles, and tourist buses, and those for whom even an hour-long line is a serious delay—diplomats and businessmen.

Lieutenant Colonel V. Bulin has been serving night and day right on the boundary line.

"But what would you have us do?" he asks with a puzzled look, "in a day we pass 17,500 persons. For comparison, the international 'Sheremetevo' airport manages only 15. And what will it be like in the summer, the height of the season?..."

The narrowest spot of the "Chop" KPP—in a literal and figurative sense—is the motor vehicle bridge across the Tisa, on which even three cars have difficulty in passing each other. A discussion has been going on for a long time concerning the construction of a new bridge, but there is no money. It is true that now the new system for crossing the border gives a considerable profit, and this question could be addressed again, but it turns out that the bridge does not have an owner. At least the Ministry of Construction and Operation of Motor Vehicle Roads of the Ukraine does not want to consider itself as such.

"There is, of course, another, even though temporary, solution to the problem," Valeriy Dmitriyevich believes. "Now a large part of those transiting the border go on foot or in their personal cars. But it is possible to permit regularly scheduled buses and to make arrangements for rail communications, which will take a load off the main route, and it will be easier for us to check documents. Why isn't anyone doing this?"

I met with border guard representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic on the border.

"We believe," they said, "that first of all it is necessary to enlarge the checkpoints themselves and the approach roads considerably. We also have our own unfinished work here, which we will try to correct. But it seems to us that in many ways your own customs service is to blame; take a look, your customs agents inspect baggage two and even three times slower than ours...."

I inquire whether any difficulties have developed in Hungary's border areas. No, although in the first few days store counters became somewhat emptier, but special deliveries of various commodities were organized shortly after, and everything returned to normal. Because 30 rubles per person is exchanged, this makes it possible to make a profit and not to create excessive consumer speculation. But we feel a shortage on our side, in the Transcarpathian Oblast, especially of gasoline, which is much cheaper here than in Hungary. Because the gasoline stocks that are allocated to the oblasts, have remained the same, while the number of consumers has increased significantly.

Now about the customs inspection. Can it be done quicker?

"The simplest way is to increase the customs staff, to permit the hiring of new workers, and to pay their salaries from our profits," Yu. Shlakhta, chief of the Chop customs office, is convinced.

Finally, here is one more opinion, that of I. Panto, chief of OVIR [Department of Visas and Registration of Foreign Citizens] of the oblast UVD [Internal Affairs Administration]:

"The draft agreement provides for freeing border guards of functions not related to their job and transferring them to OVIR. A special inset has already been worked up for the Soviet passport, and it will replace the pass, which is unsuitable in every respect. But it seems to me that the main thing is to resolve the financial part of the problem. It is clear that the new system brings the state a big income. It would probably make sense to direct part of this money to improving border checkpoints, and to allocate means for customs, and we would even be able to increase our staffs...."

For my part, I will add: these questions have to be resolved as fast as possible.

GDR Writer on Restructuring, Ties With USSR

18000992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by Fritz Wengler, GDR current affairs writer, under the rubric "Panorama of Current Events: May Reflections"]

[Text] One of my friends was born in April 1945. On every one of his birthdays his mother tells him about how many days and nights she spent in the basement of her Berlin home, trembling and pressing a baby to her chest, and thinking only one thing: I wish the war would end. My friend now has two daughters and a 4-year old grandson. He will take his grandson with him when he goes on these May days to the monument to Soviet soldiers in Treptow Park to pay homage to the memories of soldiers who fell in battles against fascism.

There are already grandsons.... I was suddenly struck by the thought: the men and women who today become grandfathers and grandmothers know about war, either from the stories of parents (if they survived), or from school textbooks. Great grandsons of those who call themselves the war generation are growing up....

For us, Communists, the nurturing of friendly feelings for the country that liberated us from fascism has always been associated with a thorough study of the history of socialism. This occurred in a sharp ideological encounter with those who tried, and are still trying, to denigrate the relations between our two countries. It should not be forgotten that many television stations and 34 radio stations are being received on GDR territory. An intensive propaganda process is going on in the nationalistic great-German psyche.

Over the course of many years, the enemies of socialism asserted that the GDR was only an appendage of the USSR and an abbreviated copy of the Soviet state structure. They intentionally did not mention that, from the very beginning, developments in our country took place under specific conditions. In contrast to the USSR and certain other socialist countries, a multiparty system arose here (there are five political parties in the GDR). About 200 public organizations and unions operate in the country, representing the interests of separate classes, strata, and groups of the population. Land in the GDR was not nationalized; it was expropriated from large landholders and turned over to peasant property, which later was combined into cooperatives. It is cultivated jointly; nevertheless, it remains the property of the peasants.

Close ties between cooperatives and the worker movement already existed during caitalism in Germany. For example, consumer societies supported striking workers materially. In return, conscientious workers, as a rule, went for their purchases to the cooperatives, but not to private merchants. Immediately after the war, there again arose not only consumer societies, but also peasant trade associations, and afterwards construction cooperatives, and the like. The fact that socialist property appeared here when the private property of handicraftsmen was preserved should also be considered among our specific features. Owing to the policy of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], guarantees were established for three forms of property—public, cooperative, and private, which harmoniously coexist in the interests of all citizens of the republic.

Numerous examples of our specific features can be cited. The fact that our immediate neighbor—the FRG—is a state with an enormous economic and military capability should also be counted among them. The living standard of their citizens is higher than in other countries of Western Europe, and its political influence is also great.

This kind of proximity requires energetic ideological work on our part, and a dynamic and social and economic policy which would strengthen socialism and guarantee a rising standard of living for the population. This in turn serves as a necessary prerequisite for the political stability of the republic. Reinforcing stability on a sensitive border between two systems in the center of Europe is our contribution to the security of other socialist states as well.

We implemented numerous structural reforms—especially in the period after the 8th SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Congress, which took place in 1971. Development in this direction is continuing. Now, for example, the agenda calls for the introduction of the principle of self-financing of groups of enterprises, and of the basic economic units in the economy of the GDR.

The policy of the CPSU also creates favorable conditions for progress along the path under discussion—the path for building the socialism of the "flowers of the GDR," as we say here. We believe that the success of restructuring in the Soviet Union will have definite significance for world socialism.

At a time when the USSR is persistently fighting to accelerate economic development, we in the GDR are applying our energies to maintain in the future the rates of economic growth attained in the last decade, which constitute 4-5 percent annually.

The propaganda of the West is using these different initial positions on the threshold of the 1990's in a new way—while it did not see any substantial differences between our countries previously, it is now just beginning even to note them, while at the same time trying to depict the GDR in the role of an enemy of restructuring in the USSR. In the meantime, the Long-Term Program for the Development of Cooperation Between the GDR and the USSR in the Sphere of Science, Technology and Production to the Year 2000 is being put into practice successfully. The economy of the GDR is oriented on contributing to the modernization of the Soviet food and light industry—isn't this concrete assistance to Soviet restructuring? There are many such examples.

West Europe

Kohl Addresses Newsmen After Shevardnadze Talks

LD1305124689 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Bonn May 13 TASS—Speaking to journalists following his talk with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl pointed out that preparations for the visit of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to West Germany were central to their talk.

Kohl said that during their coming meetings the two countries' foreign ministers will discuss the text of a joint political document. The understanding on its drafting was reached in Moscow during the chancellor's visit to the USSR last October. He said this document, to which both countries attach great importance, should acquire such a content that it would be clear to everyone who reads it that a new chapter was opened in relations between the USSR and West Germany.

Touching on the work to elaborate Soviet-West German agreements in practical areas, Kohl said that the question of spreading them to West Berlin is the main hurdle to their signing. In this regard, Kohl declared for a full and final settlement of this problem.

The second all-important element of the meeting was the discussion of the new initiatives for disarmament advanced by Gorbachev at his meeting with U.S. Secretry of State James Baker. Kohl voiced satisfaction with the shaped-up shift in Soviet-U.S. relations, which is demonstrated, according to him, by a wide spectrum of issues discussed during the talk. In his view, the improvement of Soviet- U.S. relations will exert a positive influence on settling regional problems, on the process of disarmament and arms control.

Describing the Soviet initiatives as a step in the right direction, Kohl at the same time drew attention to the fact that the USSR's tactical nuclear weapons are not eliminated but only withdrawn from East European countries.

Emphasising that the USSR's new proposals will help solve the problem of battlefield nuclear weapons, the chancellor categorically opposed the third zero option that is a total elimination of this type of armaments in Europe. He spoke out for the Soviet proposals regarding conventional armaments to be considered at the Vienna talks within the shortest possible time.

Bonn Envoy on German Nationalities Interests

LD1505133589 Hamburg DPA in German 0817 GMT 15 May 89

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Soviet Ambassador in Bonn Yuliy Kvitsinskiy said that the USSR is ready to create conditions for citizens of German origin "under which their interests concerning culture, language, religion, education and self-administration are better taken into account." In an interview with WESTFAELISCHE RUNDSCHAU, which is published in Dortmund, Kvitsinskiy said over the weekend: "More German teachers, more priests, more newspapers, and more literature—this can all be resolved." However, the ambassador viewed skeptically the establishment of a separate state within the USSR. The problem could only be solved jointly with the nationality issue. The 'main cause' of the desire to emigrate to the FRG is, in Kvitsinskiy's view, "the striving for a higher standard of living—and immediately. Criticism of cultural and religious affairs is often only a pretext." [passage omitted]

FRG Space Expert on Space Cooperation With USSR

LD1505112289 Moscow TASS in English 1048 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Bonn May 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Gulkin:

The development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in space research and peaceful uses of outer space, and the broadening and strengthening of contacts between the two countries' scientists will be the main subject of a Soviet and West German experts' meeting which begins in Moscow on Tuesday, Hermann Strub, coordinator of aeronautics and space exploration programmes of the FRG's Ministry of Research and Technology, told TASS.

"The main purpose of the meeting will be to coordinate the first working proramme for cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space. The political framework for such cooperation was provided for in the bilateral agreement signed during Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's official visit to the Soviet Union. The time has come to flesh out this accord," Strub pointed out.

"The sides have already tentatively mapped out a number of projects in various fields of space cooperation.

"The experts' meeting in Moscow should choose the final projects, decide when they will be implemented and what efforts and funds they will require. A list of projects should be specific and reflect the interests of each of the partners.

"The Soviet Union is the recognised leader in space research. It has gained vast practical experience in manned space flights and the use of orbital stations. It is not fortuitous therefore that one of the central joint projects to be discussed will be a flight of a West German cosmonaut together with Soviet counterparts aboard the orbital complex Mir.

"But the FRG is not a novice in space research either. West German specialists have to their credit participation in joint space programmes with the United States, the implementation of international projects within the framework of the European Space Agency for the development of Ariane booster rockets, a Hermes spaceplane and a Columbus orbital station.

"Various instruments with the 'Made in FRG' marking accounted themselves well on board Soviet spaceships in near-earth orbits and during automatic space probes' flights to other planets of the solar system. Therefore cooperation promises to be equal and mutually beneficial. Both sides are interested in an exchange of scientific data to be gleaned as a result of joint space experiments.

"Space researchers engage in a quest for knowledge about our planet and the properties of substances which are impossibe to obtain down here on earth, even in the most perfect laboratories. A number of new medicines and super-pure metals have been developed only in zero gravity conditions.

"The future of terrestrial science and technology is being built in space now. This research calls for large expenditures and much time but progress is no longer possible without that.

"Any comprehensive and elaborate space experiment lasts several years. Then scientists process its results. It might take them twenty and even more years to introduce them to industry and to our everyday life. However, to give up space research is deliberately to slow down scientific and technological progress and to fall behind others.

"Soviet-West German cooperation in the field of space research is still at the beginning of the road," the spokesman for the FRG's Ministry of Research and Technology emphasised.

"There are still questions of an organizational and financial nature which are to be resolved. But it can already be said that all conditions are available for the successful development of cooperation: The dialogue between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic is gaining in scope in the entire spectrum of bilateral relations and mutual trust is growing stronger.

"All this gives ground to hope that long-term space cooperation will be successful, promoting stronger friendly contacts between our two countries and peoples down here on earth, too," Strub said in conclusion.

Falin Meets European Democratic Union Officials

AU1205110089 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 12 May 89 p 2

["HS" report: "First Talks Between CPSU and European Democratic Union"]

[Text] Vienna—"The longest road starts with the first step," Valentin Falin, chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, said after talks in Vienna with a delegation of the European Democratic Union (EDU). It was the first top-level contact between representatives of conservative parties and the CPSU, and was organized by Andreas Khol, foreign affairs specialist of the Austrian People's Party. Falin talked of a "positive beginning of hopefully productive cooperation." Talks in Moscow are planned for October.

Falin Meets Austria's Vranitzky, KPOe Chairman Muhri

AU1105104089 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 11 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Falin Received by Muhri and Silbermayr"]

[Text] Vienna—One of the main prerequisites for the success of perestroyka is a new attitude of the people, especially the cadres, in order to meet the completely new conditions and requirements arising from the profound restructuring of society. This was stated, among other things, by Valentin Falin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the International Department, in the course of a detailed talk held with Chairman Franz Muhri and Walter Silbermayr, secretary of the Central Committee [of the Communist Party of Austria] in the house of the Central Committee.

During the talk, Muhri and Silbermayr confirmed their solidarity with the fundamental objectives of restructuring in the Soviet Union and the peace policy based on new thinking. They also agreed that Austria's entry into the EC would be incompatible with permanent neutrality and the State Treaty.

Muhri stressed the positive importance of the fact that the decline in Soviet-Austrian economic relations has been stopped and that they have been considerably on the upswing for some time, which the Communist Party of Austria [KPOe] and the CPSU continue to advocate.

The two sides affirmed their readiness and determination not only to maintain the good relations and cooperation in solidarity between the KPOe and the CSPU, but also to develop them on the qualitatively new basis of perestroyka.

On the part of the CPSU, Gennadiy Shikin, ambassador to Austria, and Viktor Rykin, leading member of the Central Committee International Department, participated in the talk which took place in a very friendly atmosphere. Hans Steiner from the KPOe was also present.

Yesterday Falin also met Chancellor Vranitzky. Their talk focused on the EC question. After the meeting, the chancellor stated that he had assured his partner in the talk that Austrian neutrality will be preserved without restrictions.

Pugo, CPSU Delegation Arrive in Helsinki

LD1405164289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1523 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Helsinki, 14 May (TASS)—A delegation from the CPSU headed by B.K. Pugo, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of its Party Control Committee, arrived here today at the invitation of the Finnish Center Party.

The delegation was met at the Finnish capital's international airport by Paavo Vayrynen, chairman of the Finnish Center Party, and by other officials.

Among the meeting party was B.I. Aristov, Soviet ambassador to Finland.

CPSU Represented at Italian Socialist Congress

PM1605093389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At Party Congress"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Italian Socialist Party leadership CPSU representatives V.V. Zhurkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences European Institute, and G.P. Smirnov, deputy leader of the CPSU Central Committee International Department Group, departed 12 May from Moscow for Milan to participate in the work of the Italian Socialist Party's 45th Congress.

UK's Howe on USSR Initiatives, NATO Thinking

LD1205224489 Moscow TASS in English 2224 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] London May 13 TASS—British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe highly assessed the Soviet decision to unilaterally withdraw 500 short-range nuclear missiles from the territory of its allies in 1989.

Replying to questions by correspondents at the Scottish conference of the Conservative Party, which opened in Perth on Friday, he said in particular that that decision should be welcomed. At the same time, Geoffrey Howe said the new Soviet initiative would not affect the plan of modernizing tactical missiles in Western Europe. The Soviet Union, the secretary said, withdraws only "a small proportion."

Commenting on Moscow's meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker, Bruce Kent, chairman of the British nuclear disarmament movement, said that the Soviet peace initiatives should be regarded as a step towards a denuclearized Europe. He also pointed to the lack of new political thinking among the leaders of NATO countries who stubbornly refuse to react positively in the direction pointed out by the Soviet Union.

Thatcher Administration Viewed on 10th Anniversary

18000989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 May 89 First Edition p 4

[T. Kolesnichenko report: "Ten Years at No 10 Downing Street. On 4 May the Conservatives Mark the 10th Anniversary of Their Being in Power"]

[Text] London, May—**The newspapers and television, of course, did not miss this "noteworthy date." So much material has recently been published on the subject that more than one fat volume could be put together. However, it is not a panegyric to a "glorious decade" but a serious analysis that is often sharply critical, and thoughts about the future.**

Recently, for example, an "economic trial" was shown on local television, with all the trappings of British jurisprudence, with a plaintiff, defendant and witnesses. The "case" being considered was "A Decade of Thatcher: Miracle or Mirage?". Leading economists, scholars, political experts and public and political figures took part in the "trial." There was a theatrical but often candid discussion. The figures and diagrams and the diaries of homeless and unfortunate people, the photographs of happy home owners and shareholders, of those who have grown rich and those who have been ruined—all this was presented for the judgment of millions of television viewers. It was not so easy to reach a verdict, for it was a question of a complicated set of contradictions, of successes and failures, of deep changes that have taken place in the decade of Tory rule. Moreover, it was not not so much the Conservative Party that was being judged, but rather its leader, M. Thatcher.

It is precisely she, Margaret Hilda Thatcher, who is today the focus of public attention. Some 40 books have already been written about her (this year alone 14 are being published): "Thatcher's Revolution," "Margaret Thatcher—Wife, Mother, Political Figure," "One of Us" and many others. Even the term "Thatcherism" has been coined, and is now used extensively by politicians.

Some uncomplimentary things are being written here about the prime minister. Moreover, what we observe is, so to speak, a paradox: outside Britain she is often called "the lady with the blue eyes," and attractive human qualities are ascribed to her nature. But here, in her own country, she is referred to most often as "the iron lady," "tough, uncompromising, ruthless, devoid of compassion for others."

But perhaps this was the kind of political figure that Britain needed 10 years ago, when it found itself at the crossroads of history. They say that if Thatcher had not existed it would have been necessary to invent her. In 1979, when the daughter of Alfred Roberts, a grocer with a store on the corner of North Parade in Grantham, came to power, she said: "Our method is economics, our goal is a change of heart." The ideal for this was her strict father with his moral absolutes and set of Victorian values, in which an honorable place is occupied by discipline and diligence. In the language of Thatcher this is called "giving back to the country a purpose and a confidence."

"My policy," she explains, "is based not on some economic theory but on the things that were instilled into me along with millions like me: honest work for an honest wage; don't spend more than you earn; live within your means; save for a rainy day; pay your bills promptly; support the police."

It cannot be said that the English have marched "shoulder to shoulder" with Thatcher, following her course "in a unified transport of passion." In the most difficult time for her—in December 1981—only 25 percent of the British people responding to a Gallup poll expressed support for what she was doing as prime minister. Even at the zenith of her success in September 1983 those supporting her were much fewer than those who at various times had supported the policies of Attlee, Eden, Wilson, Callaghan and McMillan—53 percent. And now a Gallup poll taken at the end of April showed that only 40 percent of the British "are satisfied with how the prime minister is carrying out her duties." Only E. Heath has ever received a lower level of support in a poll—38 percent.

In January last year M. Thatcher set a unique record—she became the British prime minister holding office the longest in the 20th century. The records of Walpole and Pitt, 21 and 19 years respectively, are, perhaps, not about to be broken, although Thatcher herself claims that "I want to go further and further," meaning that she wants to remain at No 10 Downing Street, through to the end of the millennium. If that happens, then on 14 March in the year 2000, aged 74, she will have equaled Walpole's record. These statements, of course, are more for advertising, a demonstration of the Conservative's "firmness of spirit" and confidence of holding on to power indefinitely at the prime minister's residence. M. Thatcher is less worried about the long-term prospects than the general election in 1991. The scale of popularity for the Conservatives is as changeable as the English weather: now there are thunder clouds, now the sun, now the rain, and, more often than not, one or more of them together. Recently, for example, public opinion polls showed that the Conservatives have drawn three percentage points away from their Labor rivals, but only 2 weeks ago this lead had been cut to 1 percent.

Ten years ago they called Britain "the sick man of Europe." Today Thatcher believes that the "British disease has become the British medicine." Finally, in the interests of fairness I should note that the "miraculous means" that Thatcher has applied was found not at home but across the ocean—in the United States. The so-called "Thatcher revolution" and her reforms are based primarily on the postulates of the well-known American economist Milton Friedman, the ideologue of "modern free enterprise." It was precisely he who put forward the idea of "pure capitalism" that Thatcher has embraced. So that "Thatcherism" is rather a style of leadership, a course toward assimilation of Friedman's recipes on British soil, not an ideology or "new economics," as it is sometimes depicted. The newspaper THE FINANCIAL TIMES writes that "Thatcherism is not about economics. It is rather an instinct, a set of moral values and an approach to leadership." The British prime minister must be given her due: she has shown exceptional strength of will, sense of purpose, toughness and absence of compromise as she has pursued this course. Perhaps none of today's British politicians can compare to her in this.

"Thatcherism," one of her ministers has said, "means forcing people to think for themselves. Margaret Thatcher is the British equivalent of a sheriff with his revolvers taming the Wild West."

The taming of an obstinate Britain, started 10 years ago, has also extended to the cabinet of Conservative ministers. Thatcher believes that each minister "should be one of us." By this she means totally subordinate to her and following her will. "The number of casualties among members of the Thatcher cabinet," the OBSERVER writes, "is reminiscent of the casualties in the infantry battalions in WW1." And in fact, of the 22 members of the first Thatcher cabinet, today those who remain can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The most serious ministerial "bloodletting" took place in 1981 during the period of bitter disputes about economic strategy. At that time an extremely tense situation had taken shape in the country. The fate of Thatcher herself as prime minister was under threat. The ruthless break with the old—the closure of unprofitable enterprises, reducing the administrative apparatus, denationalization of the state sector and other draconian measures during the first years that the Tories were in power—had exacerbated the situation in Great Britain and worsened its economic position. The inflation rate at that time still remained high. At the same time there was a sharp increase in unemployment and retail prices were rising. "Britannia," at one time the "master of the world" was about to be written of as a second-rate power.

But Britain was restructured. Since the late seventies more funding has been allocated to retool industry on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. Companies in leading fields of the scientific and technical revolution were given greater incentive for their development. In a country where laws centuries old are still scrupulously observed, when it became necessary, at one stroke many of the bureaucratic obstacles were removed and the existing legislation was simplified. Many of the restrictions on business were lifted.

As a result the employment rate grew in the services sphere and in production, labor productivity increased, and incomes grew for most of the population.

And so, can it be said that the Conservatives are celebrating an unclouded jubilee? I have before me dozens of serious articles in which Thatcherism is criticized sharply and uncompromisingly. No, it is not an unclouded jubilee. First, many economists believe that the achievements could have been even greater and more striking than those we see today. And—the main thing—more stable. Second—and this is becoming the essence of the indictment in the "trial" of the Conservatives—there is social policy. If Thatcher has "awakened" the British, as many observers claim, then they, now that they have "opened their eyes," have seen the depth of the Tories' unfair policy. All the public opinion polls show that the voters like the spirit of Labor's social policy much more than those being pursued by Thatcher. The most interesting thing is that most voters believe that Thatcher "has not united but disunited the nation." Then why, it may be asked, have those same voters now voted for the Tories three times? In real life, many circumstances are interwoven in a contradictory way. There is a split in the trade unions, changes in the makeup of the working class itself, which today, in the age of electronics, computers and information science, cannot be easily categorized as "white-collar" and "blue-collar" workers, and a weakness among the Labor people, who have not found a strong new base for themselves now that they have been deprived of the old "smokestack" enterprises. As one of my English journalist acquaintances so graphically put it, "the voters love Kinnock but they respect Thatcher. They would like Labor social policy, the Tory economic policy and a few miracles." But, as is known, we do not get everything we want in life. And so we must choose.

The political pendulum of the two-party system in Britain may be starting to to swing. At least two circumstances may set it in motion. First, the economy itself. The "British miracle" still rests on three "bastions"—high bank rates, which hold down inflation and attract foreign investment; funds obtained from denationalization—the sale of state enterprises (this is the main reason why one in three British adults is a shareholder); and income derived from sales of North Sea oil. But inflation has again started to rise and has now reached 8 percent—higher than in all other developed countries in the West. Moreover, the banks in Bonn and Tokyo have recently also raised their rates. This "unfriendly" act has weakened London's position. And income from the sale of state enterprises and oil may dry up. The question is: How long can the "British miracle" last? It is an open question. The obvious "overheating" of the economy is threatening a painful recession, although the Tories are promising a "soft landing."

Second, the social situation in the country is becoming increasingly exacerbated. When Thatcher dealt with the trade unions and threw the workers at "unpromising" enterprises out onto the street, many voters assumed the position of "that's nothing to do with me." For it was not them but the poor who were becoming poorer and, as they sing in the opera, "let the losers weep." But as soon as the government started to lift a hand against the main bastion of social achievements—the national health system—the Labor people, to judge from the public opinion polls, have received massive support from the voters and virtually overtook the Conservatives.

Thatcher has not been able to keep her promise of "smashing socialism," or more accurately the "Labor version" of it, in Britain. "Neither has she been able to force the British to accept her 'values.'" On 2 May the INDEPENDENT newspaper published a public opinion poll conducted jointly with the television. It was very eloquent. Judge for yourselves: 62 percent of those polled, for example, consider the ideal country to be one "in which social interests prevail and there is better management of the economy." Only 30 percent would prefer to live "in a country where private interests and a free-market economy prevail."

The latest polls, and there are many of them, are working, one might say, for the Labor people. Only one voter in three thinks that "Britain is heading in the right direction." Most are convinced that "the country is moving in the wrong direction and major changes are necessary." It is interesting that a majority (four to one) believes that the trade unions have an inalienable right to defend the interests of the workers.

And what was the result of the "trial" of the "Decade of Thatcher?" The British will bring in their verdict in 1991 at the next elections. But the final verdict belongs to history. No matter what, the "decade of Thatcher has already become part of the country's history, and the daughter of grocer Alfred Roberts who became the prime minister, has become a major political figure of postwar Britain."

Latin America & Caribbean

PRAVDA Article on U.S. Latin America Policy Cited

LD1605071189 Moscow TASS in English 0702 GMT 16 May 89

["PRAVDA Criticizes U.S. Policy in Latin America"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—"Latin American problems should be solved by Latin Americans themselves through peaceful political means. The attempts of U.S. imperialist circles to decide the fates of Panama and Nicaragua by force are doomed to fail," political observer Vitaliy Korionov writes in PRAVDA today.

"Latin America today is a region of mounting popular action. The continent's political geography is changing rapidly. The revolution in Cuba, the courageous struggle of Nicaragua, the fall of military dictatorships in South America, the anti-Pinochet movement in Chile, the collapse of the Stroessner regime in Paraguay and the tireless struggle of the local Communist parties and progressive organisations indicate that a powerful independent movement has emerged in the historical arena. Latin America is coming to play a greater role in international politics," PRAVDA said.

However, U.S. threats to Panama show that the United States have not abandoned their imperial ideas of Latin America as their "backyard". The United States is increasing its interference in Panama's internal affairs, depriving its people of the right to decide their fate themselves. The United States continues its support of the Nicaraguan contras and is increasing pressure on the Sandinist government which is trying to solve the difficult problems caused by the war, PRAVDA's political observer writes.

"Reports from Central America are arousing great concern amongst the international public," Korionov writes.

U.S. Seeks 'Pretext' To Intervene in Panama

PM1605085189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Roundup prepared by A. Kamorin in Panama and M. Kozhukhov in Moscow under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Panama: An Explosive Situation"]

[Excerpts] Events in Panama, in the throes of an acute political crisis following the 7 May presidential election, have taken an unexpected turn. On the night of Wednesday-Thursday the republic national election tribunal issued Decree No 58, declaring the election results null and void.

The reason given: foreign interference. Speaking on national television, Yolanda Pulice de Rodriguez declared: "As soon as voting ended, events began happening which are hampering the normal electoral process. The elections were marred by intervention on the part of foreign citizens who were invited by Panamanian organizations without the necessary permission of the election tribunal and with the obvious intention of adding weight to the rigged election thesis put forward by the U.S. authorities long before the voting in Panama."

These circumstances, and also the disappearance of ballot papers from polling stations, the buying of votes by political parties, and the disappearance of many of the preliminary-count records make it impossible for the telling commission to sum up the election results. The tribunal also attributes its decision to "the need to restore a climate of tranquillity in the country." [passage omitted]

Heightened activity has been observed at all 14 U.S. military bases located there, and all personnel have been placed on combat alert. At a press conference in the Panamanian capital, U.S. Ambassador Arthur Davis announced that some 100 U.S. citizens living in Panama had been placed under the protection of military garrisons, and that those remaining in the city had been instructed only to leave their homes if absolutely necessary. Reports say that U.S. authorities are looking into plans to reduce U.S. Embassy staff in Panama, and even examining the possibility of an emergency evacuation of families of servicemen living outside military bases. Judging by appearances, a U.S. command report circulated in the capital about the "brutal beating up" of a marine by Panamanian servicemen is meant to serve as a justification for these measures. Observers following the development of events in Panama interpret this statement unequivocally: The United States is looking for a pretext for a military intervention.

An unprecedented campaign of Washington blackmail and pressure on Panama continues. White House Press Secretary Fitzwater again emphasized that the United States insists on the resignation of General Manuel Noriega, commander in chief of the national defense forces. "The U.S. position boils down to the demand that Noriega must go," Fitzwater said. At the same time, official spokesmen for the Washington administration refuse to answer journalists' questions about the possibility of military force being used against Panama, aware that such a step would also have serious consequences for the United States itself.

The question of the future of the Panama Canal, which is to pass under Panamanian jurisdiction by 1 January 2000, is of key importance for understanding the origins of the current crisis in U.S.-Panamanian relations. It cannot be ruled out that the prevailing situation could be used by Washington to review its bilateral treaties on the canal or even lead to a U.S. denunciation of these agreements—there is no shortage of supporters for this kind of decision on the banks of the Potomac. [passage omitted]

Deputy Defense Minister on Upcoming Brazil Visit

PY1505171789 Moscow in Spanish to Chile
2000 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] A Soviet military delegation headed by Soviet Air Force Commander in Chief Aleksandr Yefimov—who is also the deputy minister of defense—will visit Brazil next week. [as heard] Radio Moscow reporter Aleksey Balandin has interviewed Aleksandr Yefimov on the occasion of this visit.

[Question] This is the first time that such a high- level Soviet military delegation will visit Brazil. Why is it so?

[Answer] It is actually a significant fact. Our visit to Brazil has been made possible by the major changes under way in the USSR, which also influences Soviet foreign policy.

Our country designs its foreign policy on the basis of its new political mentality. Our premise is the recognition of the priority of human values. We believe that mankind's survival is now a particularly critical problem. In this regard, we have a very precise plan. As we see it, the arms race is unwise and the accumulation of nuclear weapons is particularly unwise, because these weapons can lead in no good direction.

The armed forces nuclear weapons can be used neither as instruments to obtain political, economic, or ideological objectives, nor for that matter, for the attainment of any kind of objective.

The USSR feels responsible for the destiny of all of mankind. The concrete peace-seeking steps that the USSR has taken at an international level have improved the Soviet image. Nations have understood that we are sincerely seeking to promote cooperation, that major changes are under way in our country, and that perestroyka is under way.

All that has had a positive influence in our relations with many nations.

Brazil is one of those nations. We consider that this first visit is a major event for the armed forces of the two countries. It will be a visit by the air force, which may later be followed by visits by delegations of the other service branches. We have good feelings about the visit and we believe that it will be a first step in the establishment of direct contacts between the armed forces of our countries.

[Question] Brazilian Air Force Chief of Staff Brigadier [rank as heard] Cherubim Rosa Filho visited the USSR last year. What are the major areas of the relations between the Soviet and the Brazilian Armed Forces? What are the objectives of such relations?

[Answer] Last year Mr Rosa Filho visited the USSR. We frankly mentioned our desires to establish contacts between our armed forces, especially the armed forces. We analyzed flight security matters, air traffic, and the organization of training of engineers, pilots, and technicians.

We have different political systems, but I believe that this does not mean that our relations should be based on confrontation. We can maintain several friendly contacts that will help develop our air force branches. We have things that we can share with Brazil, and we will see what they can offer to us. We do not believe that we know everything. I believe that Brazil too has a lot of sound experience. We hope to exchange those mutually advantageous experiences.

Our visit will be made in response to an invitation extended by Mr Rosa Filho. It should not be by chance that pilots, who are the representatives of the profession of speed, should be the first to contact each other.

During the visit we will be willing to consider all problems and answer any questions posed by the Brazilian Air Forces. We are willing to cooperate in the area of exchange of experiences in the training of personnel. We can offer our training system, which is not secret.

[Question] In October 1988, during a visit by Brazilian President Jose Sarney to the USSR, a scientific cooperation accord was signed. How will your visit promote cooperation in the aeronautical and space research fields?

[Answer] I should say that there are many areas for cooperation, especially in space exploration. We can cooperate in exploring earth from outer space and in launching Brazilian satellites. We can offer our possibilities for scientific research for peaceful purposes in space.

We know that space can be used also for military purposes, but the main task is the development of space for peaceful purposes. I believe the time has come for seriously thinking about the possibility of signing international space cooperation accords and agreements for the investigation of space problems. Even though those problems affect all nations, we have already made significant progress in this regard. We can share our experience, which is considerable.

We have performed several investigations that we could share with our Brazilian partners.

In the interest of peace and in the interest of the national economies of Brazil and the Soviet Union, the cosmos is very important. It yields a lot, and although some programs and efforts require huge expenditures, cosmic exploration will finally pay off. We will try, therefore, to implement the agreements signed by our governments.

[Question] The Latin American countries are faced with the development of their national economies and [words indistinct] the foreign debt problem. In your opinion, do the allocations for military purposes represent an obstacle to those goals?

[Answer] All weapons are expensive now. Weapons cost a fortune. Every country constrains its armed forces and allocates funds for their development and for their improvement in keeping with national interests and capabilities.

I think it is understandable for Brazil and every Latin American country to do this in their own way. For example, we reduced our armed forces' expenditures on weapons, in keeping with our own capabilities and policy. In other countries, including the Latin American countries, this issue is a matter for their own peoples and governments.

Sandinista Official Seeks Dialogue With U.S.

LD1005102889 Moscow TASS in English 0927 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Managua May 10 TASS—The achievement of peace in Central America primarily depends on the efforts of all countries of the region and the world public to implement the plan of the political settlement in Central America, reached in Guatemala in August 1987. This statement was made by Bayardo Arce, deputy coordinator of the executve commission on the national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, at a news conference for foreign journalists here.

Even though the White House administration did not explicitly oppose the Guatemalan peace agreements, its policy seriously harms the cause of peace in the region, he noted. The decision of the U.S. Congress to grant humanitarian aid to the contras is a serious blow to the plan of demobilization and repatriation of the armed forces, adopted at the Salvadoran meeting of the region's presidents and recently endorsed by deputy foreign ministers in Guatemala. Nevertheless Washington is trying to place the blame for thwarting Guatemala accords on the Nicaraguan leadership, accusing it of violating pledges to democratize the country.

The Sandinista leader bluntly rejected allegations that Nicaragua was carrying out lop-sided reforms, which only profited the Sandinista National Liberation Front. The drafts of these reforms, he said further, were discussed with the representatives of eleven major political parties representing the Nicaraguan opposition.

Arce described bills passed by the National Assembly as the most progressive and democratic in Central America and added that Nicaragua was prepared to defend its view. In this context he pointed out that the Republic had fulfilled all points of the agreement while the other governments failed to abide by their obligations. However, the U.S. stubbornly refuses to see this.

Bayardo Arce noted that in the interests of political settlement Washington should spend the resources for humanitarian aims on disarmament and repatriation of contras, in accordance with the plan of demobilization of Nicarguan counterrevolution. It is also advisable for the remaining governments of the region to follow Nicaragua in starting a bilateral dialogue with the rebel armed groups to bring about the earliest termination of the war. Arce stressed that Nicaragua is a sovereign state which has the right to maintain relations with all countries despite the wishes of the Washington administration, which insists that Nicaragua break up its relations with the Soviet Union and Cuba. Nicaragua is prepared to discuss with the United States ways of ensuring reciprocal security, terminating foreign military presence in the region, the freedom of shipping and movement, but not Nicarguan relations with other states, he stressed.

Political & Social

Results of Repeat Elections for People's Deputies
LD1505173589 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—Today mass media began making public the results of the repeated ballots in the elections of people's deputies of the USSR. Last Sunday the ballot was repeated in 198 electoral districts of the USSR where on March 26, the election day, one of two candidates were competing for deputy seats and none gathered the requisite majority of votes. Besides, in three districts in the territory of Armenia, the March 26 election returns were found invalid since less than half the voters took part.

There was sharp competition between candidates in three electoral districts of Moscow. None collected the sufficient number of votes. Since the voter turnout was more than half the registered electorate, the ballot will have to be repeated. It will be a contest between candidates who clearly enjoyed the preference of the voters.

There were 28 candidates running in the national-territorial district of the city of Leningrad. Besides, in three territorial districts voters had a choice of yet another 8-10 candidates. The voter turnout gradually increased in the course of the day. Queues arose at the election stations. Even if only one ballot were given to the voter, he still had to cross out 27 names. Some of the election rusults are now known. In No 19 national-territorial district in the city of Leningrad the people's deputy elected turned out to be a Muscovite. He is Nikolay Ivanov, an investigator from the Procrator's Office of the USSR. In the territorial districts none of the candidates gathered the requisite majority and so the Leningraders will have to come to the polls next Sunday once again.

In Kiev, capital of the Ukraine, 33 candidates had been registered in the No 33 national-territorial district. However, none gathered more than half the votes required to become a deputy and so the ballot will have to be repeated on May 21. The final results are being specified.

Voters in ten districts of Belorussia also had an ample choice: 52 contenders contested 10 deputy mandates. So far deputies have been elected in only four districts. Among them there are: secretary of one of the regional party committees, chairman of a regional executive committee, a special investigator under the procurator of Belorussia, and a worker. In six other districts the ballot will have to be repeated on May 21.

In the elections in Tashkent, captial of Uzbekistan (Soviet Central Asia), of special interest was the voting in a district where chairman of the Presidium of the Ecclesiastical Department of Moslems of Central Asia and Kazakhstan Mufti Muhammad-Sadyk ibn Muhammad-Yusuf was registered as candidate. For the first time in the history of the republic an Islamic figure was nominated as candidate to the supreme body of state power. The voters appreciated the programme of 37 year-old mufti on its merits. He placed chief emphasis in his programme on the struggle for peace, establishment of a rule-of-law state and a harmonious development of inter-ethnic relations. Mufti became deputy from his district. Ballots were repeated in ten other electoral districts of Uzbekistan. In three of these none of the candidates gathered the requisite number of votes—so another ballot will have to be held. Among the elected deputies there are a worker, four peasants and two party organisations officials.

In Vilnius, capital of the Baltic republic of Lithuania, the voters of the Vilnius rural national-territorial district gave their preference to director of the capital's agricultural technical school out of five candidates. So Lithuania will be represented by 50 deputies at the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

People's Deputies Question Lukyanov on Congress
LD1505170589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] As we have already reported, a meeting of the Moscow people's deputies elected from the capital's territorial constituences and public organizations was held today in the Moscow City Executive Committee. Present at the meeting were Comrades Vorotnikov, Zaykov, and Lukyanov. The participants in the meeting discussed matters relating to the preparations for and the holding of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, which opens on 25 May. Responding to questions from deputies, Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said in part:

[Begin recording] In my opinion as a deputy, a very great deal will depend on the stance taken by the congress—on whether it will be a congress of society's consolidation that will work out the most pressing solutions, or whether it will be a congress that will get bogged down in discussion of many procedural and other such matters. People really do expect us to give answers to quite specific questions. The people expect economic solutions, and the people expect the thing that is most pressing; the people expect some easing of the mood that currently exists.

Because we have been entrusted with the preparations for the congress, what thoughts does the Supreme Soviet Presidium have? There should be no formalistic election of representatives; the best and most active people should be elected to the Supreme Soviet. So that there should be a variety of opinions, a clash of opinions. This should not be a clash for clash's sake, but for the sake of thrashing out the decisions the people need. That is the main thing. The congress will be, by its nature, constituent. It should not merely set up the bodies that will function—though the people are also expecting these matters to be sorted out as soon as possible, for how long must they wait? The main thing is that it should draw up a plan of action for the Supreme Soviet, the government, and so on.

Suggestions have on occasion been creeping into our press to the effect that this congress is, supposedly, a college of electors. Who thought this up? Who wants to introduce this? The congress is the highest—the supreme, if you will—organ of power. The congress has the right to examine any matter that falls within the remit of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Constitution. Any matter. I stress again: any matter. In other words, it is to be the organ of power; that is the idea. In this respect every deputy must act. Therefore, the whole aim of the Presidium is to involve the deputies themselves as far as possible in this work. Nobody else. I believe the congress will have the opportunity not just to confirm the agenda provided for the Constitution—and it is precisely set out there what is to be examined at the first congress—but undoubtedly also to put forward other issues the congress wants to examine.

For example, I consider that a whole range of issues should be included in the final decision of the congress—I am in support of it, I do not know why it should be a declaration, why is it a declaration? It should be the resolution of the congress on the future of the work of the Supreme Soviet and the government, that is the first thing. There should be a big resolution of the congress on the future of legislative work. I would like to tell you, comrades, that if we do not settle it right away, at the first congresses, and adopt a law on pensions as one of the first things, we will heat the atmosphere up to the extreme. [indistinct voices heard from hall].

But I am speaking to you frankly, you understand. That is what we must talk about. That is, we must start unravelling some knots immediately. I think that the matter of examining—whether at the congress, or to instruct the Supreme Soviet, I dont know—the issue connected with the latest decrees deserves attention. Two decrees have been confirmed as laws, but do we want to revise them? As far as the third decree is concerned, it has thus far been adopted, but has not yet been in effect. So let us look into.... [changes thought] I, for instance, think that the first two paragraphs in this decree need absolutely no discussion, they could be discussed, of course, but they are absolutely vital for society at the moment. Regarding the paragraph that is being sharply discussed, so to speak, by the public, let us look at it. There cannot be any preordained points, so to speak, in this, let us look and see how it can be formulated to suit society. Perhaps we (?will find things to revise and examine later on).

The criteria for Supreme Soviet elections from various public organizations: I have reported here on the criteria, and I think it is fair. But in principle, there can be no driven-in nails here. We have to take a look. Because it is—you will excuse me, but every representative that is to be a Supreme Soviet deputy is a very substantial figure, a public figure. [as heard] everything has to be looked at.

Committees and commissions: The Supreme Soviet Presidium has gathered only general proposals on the committees and commissions needing to be formed. That is, everytime we look, we think we have to form a commission on the rights and appeals of citizens so that it can be tied into everything that people bring to the Supreme Soviet. You understand? So, we are here in favor of maximum consideration of opinions. I will cite some examples of laws which are acutely needed. I believe there should be is a law on pensions, a law on youth, a law on the press, and a law on local government. The congress could stipulate that order of priority. In the first place, what is essential for the congress? It is essential for permanent standing orders for the congress and the Supreme Soviet, a new law on the status of deputies, and a law on recalling deputies to be drawn up and put forward at the Supreme Soviet. These are the things that must be worked out immediately. Clearly the point will arise that we do not have a decree on mandates from the electorate, but a law. That is something else. Moreover, in the Supreme Soviet we will probably have to examine generally how the mandates you have received are being fullfilled. Who is obliged to fulfil them? Therefore, the Supreme Soviet will have lots of such administrative issues, as well as legislative ones. I believe it will be exceptionally important to raise the issue of the budget and the plan and the coming 5-Year plan. So, all this will have to be examined at the Supreme Soviet, and then at the congress. Definitely.

Once again, I want to say that, of course, the mood of the people must be taken into account. That is very important at the present moment, and for that reason it will probably prove necessary to adopt some sort of program, or else to give the Supreme Soviet the general task of drawing up a program to combat crime generally.

The last thing I want to say is that there is talk here of electors having started to go and see their deputies with very acute matters. This awaits each of you, comrades, in triple measure. I think, and I keep on saying, that the more you have to do with people and the more you tackle specific issues—both you deputies who were elected from public organizations, and those of you elected on a territorial basis—the easier it will be for us to work. As Lenin said, the Soviet system has built up this direct link between the deputy and the populace. We must on no account lose it. [end recording]

Leaders Meet With Trade Union Deputies 4-5 May

18280129 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Business-like Meeting of People's Deputies"]

[Text] A meeting of People's Deputies elected from USSR trade unions took place 4-5 May at the Palace of

Labor of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU). The deputies were presented with a certificate of election.

Matters were discussed on radical reform in the highest organs of power, on the main directions of socio-economic activity for trade unions in new economic conditions, and on certain tasks concerning work protecting the rights of labor unions under restructuring.

A constructive exchange of opinions took place on questions regarding the organization of activities of the group of deputies from trade unions.

A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; S.A. Shalayev, chairman of AUCCTU; and AUCCTU secretaries addressed the People's Deputies.

Pskov First Secretary Battles in Run-Off Election

18000945 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Apr 89 p 1

[Interview with A. Ilin first secretary of the Pskov CPSU Oblast Party Committee, by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Special Correspondent V. Pyankova: "Continuation of the Struggle"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Pskov—The recent April plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has demonstrated the need for profound, carefully weighed analysis and the detailed interpretation of many of our country's current problems, including the campaign to elect USSR people's deputies. Persons who made statements at the plenum spoke alarmingly about the fact that certain party leaders in the outlying areas were defeated at the election because of the voters' negative attitude toward the apparatus workers in general, and because of the candidates' inability to wage a political struggle. A well-principled evaluation was also given to the refusal to allow those who had lost in the struggle for the deputy mandates to participate again in that struggle.

The plenum participants included Aleksey Nikolayevich Ilin, first secretary of the Pskov Oblast Party Committee [obkom]. On election day, 26 March, he collected 48 percent of the votes for the Ostrov Territorial Electoral District, Pskov Oblast—one percent less than the candidate who also contended for the deputy mandate, V. Petrov, chairman of the Zarya Collective Farm [kolkhoz], Porkhovskiy Rayon. A run-off election was scheduled. In the course of the new election campaign, 40 labor collectives in the district renominated as their candidate the first secretary of the CPSU obkom. Seven additional contenders for the deputy mandate also entered the struggle. Nevertheless A. Ilin agreed once again to run as people's deputy.

[Correspondent] What prompted you to make that decision, Aleksey Nikolayevich?

[Ilin] It was as a result of complicated, and at times agonizing reflections. I can understand those comrades who, as was noted at the plenum, are cautious of participating again in the electoral campaign. I can understand them, but I cannot follow their example. I cannot drop out of the struggle. In two electoral districts, essentially speaking, there have been draws, and all the candidates have re-entered the fight. Could I run from the second district? Of course that requires a definite amount of bravery—believe me when I say that it is no easy matter to experience one defeat at the polls. But who has permitted party leaders to lose their bravery?

[Correspondent] It was stated at the plenum that during the election the voters expressed their distrust not so much in the personality of the party worker, as in the position that he occupies. But at the same time there have been examples when first secretaries of party obkoms—for example, the Astrakhan, Belgorod, Vologda, and other obkoms—confidently won the majority of the votes. So is it possible that the crux of the matter is not only the position, but also the personality?

[Ilin] I think that things are different everywhere. Whoever managed to achieve any real changes for the better in his area is firmly in the saddle today. I would not want to justify myself, but this is an objective fact: so far, only a small number of people know me in this position. I became obkom first secretary only three months before the election of people's deputies. Therefore I am inclined to assume that at the first stage of the election the voters failed to put their trust in me not as a personality or as Ilin, but specifically as the obkom first secretary. In essence, I was handed the bill for all the previous miscalculations in the activities of the party organization.

[Correspondent] Specifically what miscalculations do you have in mind?

[Ilin] Unfortunately, there are a rather large number of them. I would mention first of all the poor social services provided to the rural areas. Although it was specifically in our oblast that the famous Program-100 for the gradual improvement of agriculture was born, it was the people from Orel Oblast who began to carry out that program, and they managed to do quite a bit in this regard. Unless we resolve the problem of the rural areas, we will not be able to resolve the problem of providing the population with food products. Therefore it is the rural areas on which I made the basic emphasis in my election program, and on which I do so today.

Of course, we also have to do a very large amount of work to increase the volume of output per worker in the agrarian sector. But I feel that it is absolutely necessary to strive also for the just resolution of the problem of distributing agricultural products among the various regions. We are constantly told that, yes, we require the oblast to make larger shipments of meat and dairy output to the union and republic funds than other regions do, but in our oblast more than 30 percent of the population is rural. Are we really supposed to believe that this is a correct figure? After all, in our oblast the size of the able-bodied population—and it is precisely from this figure that one must proceed—in rural areas is only 85,500 persons, that is, slightly more than 10 percent. Why, then, don't we allocate the volume of our agricultural output on the basis of these people, rather than on the basis of senior citizens? Another matter is that we must revitalize the rural areas—and have already begun to do so—by means of long-term rental and a system of farms. But this is something that cannot be done in a single day or even a single year.

For a long time no one in the oblast engaged seriously in problems of environmental protection. About a month ago, an oblast ecological commission was created. The members of the commission include, in addition to the specialists, a group of public representatives. We see that there is a need for new, concrete actions to develop a new way of thinking about the ecology. We have a very large number of things to work on in this regard. They include the improvement of literally all the industrial production entities, and also the elimination of the consequences of inefficient or thoughtless land reclamation.

[Correspondent] You have mentioned the economic costs that influenced the election results. But at the plenum, and especially in the general secretary's final statement, one could hear clearly the idea that the party leaders have lost a lot because of their confusion when faced by the changes in people's mind-set that were caused by restructuring and because of their inability, or even their unwillingness, to go out to the masses, to work with people. It was stated that it is precisely this live contact with people that is the source of the party's strength and bravery. Do you see any omissions in this regard in the first stage of the forthcoming election campaign? Are you currently attempting to use opportunities that were lost?

[Ilin] Of course I see them. And they are primarily the very same one that Mikhail Sergeyevich [Gorbachev] mentioned. The main mistake, in my opinion, is that in the first stage I had little opportunity to visit labor collectives or certain rayons. Today, without a doubt, it is precisely in those places that I must seek support, rather than among the so-called rayon aktiv which, according to old custom, goes to such meetings as though on command, doing practically nothing to to attract the rank-and-file voters to them. At the present time, at the second stage of the fight, when time is so compressed, practically every day I make visits to several state farms [sovkhozes] and kolkhozes, plants and factories. In a word, I am attempting to go out to the people, and to convince them of my program's strength.

Because, as was also mentioned at the plenum, we have not become completely accustomed to fighting for ourselves. It is as though we are somehow embarrassed to do this. Other candidates literally fought at times to get the deputy mandates, but for party workers that was a no-no: it was as though they did not want to be accused of exerting pressure. And that is what happened to me. Because of the acute shortage of time, I could not refuse to attend meetings to which I had been invited in other electoral districts, even though I could have refused to attend them, explaining that an election campaign was in progress that that the most important thing for every candidate at such time was to have meetings specifically with his constituents. Because this is how people think: if you have come to visit us, thank you, you have shown respect to us, but if you haven't visited us, then you have only yourself to blame.

So I indeed have only myself to blame, and I am now doing things differently: I spend all my time with people who want very much to analyze everything and who, I am convinced, are ready to do everything to help the party and perestroyka, but who at time throw down their hands when faced by actual difficulties, especially economic ones.

[Correspondent] Some of those who did not receive the voters' support have been inclined to explain this only by objective causes....

[Ilin] In my opinion, one should not discount the purely psychological factor, although for reason it is disregarded when analyzing the situation. In all previous elections, the election of the party leaders to the Supreme Soviet was considered to be something that was practically self-evident. It seemed that it could not have been otherwise. But then it turned out that it is indeed possible to do it differently. It would be surprising if the voters did not use that unprecedented opportunity to give the deputy mandate to new people, to fresh people who in some way represented their self-interestedness.

Of course, one must also mention such a factor as the not always fair manner in which the election struggle was waged. Like many party leaders, who mentioned this at the plenum, I became extremely concerned about the attempts to replace true democracy by demogogy. At times there was an indiscriminate bemoaning of many phenomena in our life, and one continues to notice that at this time. There are also completely absurd factors. For example, an anonymous leaflet circulated in Ostrov, accusing me of having restrained in 1947 the creation of kolkhozes. But, among other things, I was only three years old at that time. Or, for example, rumors began spreading, to the effect that the obkom first secretary had agreed to add Pskov Oblast to the construction plan for a nuclear power plant and to locate new chemical enterprises and petroleum refineries there.

All this, to one degree or another, manifested itself in various regions and, of course, exerted an effect on the course of the election campaign. Especially since we also had not yet learned how to provide a convincing and prompt explanation for such rumors. In general, however, the evaluation that was made at the plenum concerning what had happened was, in my opinion, a complete one.

But, speaking quite frankly, I would not want the party leaders to make a tragedy out of this, instead of making conclusions for the future.

[Correspondent] The plenum called upon them not to lay down their weapons, but to participate actively in the campaign for election to the local agencies of authority. But it called upon them to make definite conclusions for themselves in conformity with the requirements of life, and to improve the nature, forms, and methods of party activity. Having agreed to participate once again in the fight for the mandate of USSR people's deputy, you obviously feel within yourself the strength required to make those changes in party work that the party calls upon you to make, isn't that correct?

[Ilin] Of course, my decision to continue the struggle is not an attempt to defend any of my own personal vanities. I feel my own responsibility for restructuring—both in the oblast and in the country as a whole—and I want to defend my place in restructuring. At the present time I am faced with a very difficult task—the task of winning people's confidence in me specifically as the first secretary of a party obkom. As an honest person, I cannot achieve this confidence by prohibited methods, such as promising the people all the earthly blessings within the shortest period of time. In order to have rivers of milk and honey, we need the real economic prerequisites. And it was correctly stated at the plenum that it is only we ourself, in the outlying areas, who can either create those prerequisites or can ruin everything. The people will never forgive us if we do the latter.

[Correspondent] Aleksey Nikolayevich, at the present time, when a particularly high amount of interest and the most careful attention are being directed at the party leaders, and when the plenum has called for greater openness in communicating with people, it would be, in my opinion, unfair not to ask you to tell us something about yourself as a person. Because, as a person who was born in this area, you have had an interesting fate, which started when you were a small village boy in a large family in which seven small children grew up without a father....

[Ilin] My father died at the end of the war during the liberation of Estonia....

[Correspondent] From that small boy with a fate that is very typical of that generation, to candidate of economic sciences, author of a serious book that was published last year concerning the administration of the economy, and to first obkom secretary.

[Ilin] I think that I have already mentioned that. But I would like to add only that I have not deserted science. I continue, whenever I have a free minute—although, after election as first secretary, such minutes are almost nonexistent—to spend time in libraries or at my desk at hom, studying the historical experience of the administration of our country's economy.

[Correspondent] Incidentally, what kind of home do you have?

[Ilin] It's an ordinary three-room apartment without any vast foyers or balconies. I live there with my wife and my student daughter. In general, in our oblast, we have censured the practice of building special homes using individualized construction plans for party and soviet workers—the homes that people call "nests of gentlefolk." Nor do we have special stores, or special distribution points, which the voters frequently ask about.

[Correspondent] What is the most important thing that you would like to tell your voters now, after the plenum?

[Ilin] Politics is a responsible job, and although people have accumulated a large amount of dissatisfaction and a large number of claims and reproaches, confrontation will not save us. It is only by working together that we can decide how to go on with our life—both in our own Pskov Oblast and in the country as a whole. No single deputy, no entire team of deputies, not only a new parliament in the country will resolve the task of improving life if the nation does not arise just as dynamically to resolve the economic questions as it responded to the political changes.

Judge Implicating Ligachev 'Target of Investigation'

AU1505190889 Paris AFP in English 1023 GMT 14 May 89

[By Sophie Shihab]

[Excerpts] Moscow, May 14 (AFP)—The Soviet Union's leading conservative, former party ideology chief Yegor Ligachev, has been named in a corruption probe by a prominent Soviet magistrate. But the outspoken magistrate is now himself the target of an investigation that seems to be aimed at discrediting his corruption allegations against several senior Soviet officials.

The magistrate, Nikolay Ivanov, who is running as parliamentary candidate in a Leningrad constituency, denounced Mr. Ligachev on Leningrad television Friday, saying Mr. Ligachev ordered a previous corruption probe to be dropped.

Mr. Ivanov and another magistrate, Telman Gdlyan, have been investigating allegations of corruption among Soviet leaders. [passage omitted]

Mr. Gdlyan has also accused former president of the Soviet Supreme Court Vladimir Terebilov, of corruption.

But the two magistrates, renowned for their tough methods, have in turn come under investigation for "serious abuses" they are alleged to have committed during their forceful probe. The Soviet media have accused the two judges of using brutal methods in their investigation. [passage omitted]

The KGB, the Soviet secret police, has persuaded several key witnesses whose testimony was used to build cases against senior officials to deny their allegations, Roman Chervontsev [name as received], an aide to Mr. Gdlyan, said at an election rally Saturday. Mr. Chervontsev told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that Mr. Gdlyan had been forced to hand over his files to the KGB.

Other sources close to Mr. Gdlyan said he had been disappointed by a meeting last Wednesday with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. The sources said Mr. Gorbachev had asked the magistrate to halt his investigations and to await the findings of the committee examining the complaints against him.

Judge Ivanov Wins Leningrad Election

AU1505140089 Paris AFP in English 1239 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 15 (AFP)—Investigative magistrate Nikolay Ivanov was triumphally elected to the revamped Soviet parliament Sunday after publicly slamming leading party conservative Yegor Ligachev for meddling in a corruption probe, according to unofficial returns available Monday.

Mr. Ivanov won 60 per cent of the vote, defeating 27 other candidates for Leningrad's only seat in the Congress of People's Deputies.

His immediate runner-up tallied a mere five per cent.

Sources close to the judge said the results would be officially published late Monday.

Analysts said the election outcome was all the more surprising since Mr. Ivanov is not from Leningrad. Most non-party groups in Leningrad which backed their own candidates in Sunday's runoff poll had warned against letting a stranger run in the Soviet Union's second city.

Critics pointed out that Mr. Ivanov and Moscow judge Telman Gdlyan were themselves the target of an official investigation into alleged "abuses" said to have been committed during the investigation.

But the official accusations are widely seen as an attempt to discredit corruption allegations made against senior officials, including Mr. Ligachev, and have backfired and bolstered the popularity of both judges.

Mr. Ivanov told Leningrad television in an electoral broadcast Friday that Mr. Ligachev, a Politburo member in charge of agriculture, had ordered a corruption probe to be dropped.

The programme was also broadcast in Moscow but the last of three electoral spots scheduled for Saturday was censured for Moscow viewers and a film was shown instead.

Mr. Ivanov slammed what he called the Kremlin's "right turn" and "Mr. Ligachev's increasing influence."

Television-watchers said other candidates were no less outspoken, criticizing the single-party system and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev for having signed the April 8 decree that makes Soviet citizens liable to criminal prosecution if found guilty of throwing public discredit on the country's leaders.

After Saturday's move by the censor, pro-reforms deputies meeting here late Saturday said they now feared that the Congress of People's Deputies' inaugural session on May 25 might not be televised in full as they have requested.

But Deputy Yegor Yakovlev, a Gorbachev disciple and editor-in-chief of the reform-minded MOSCOW NEWS weekly, said the persistent probing by the two judges was "needlessly fuelling passions at a vital moment in Soviet history."

Ex-Member Describes Democratic Union's 'Dirty Game'

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[Text] [Announcer] We hand over to Political Observer Dmitriy Biryukov:

[Biryukov] Hello there, comrades. You are now about to see a program that, in my view, should provide everyone with serious food for thought. I am not going to summarize its content, of course. I merely mention that it discusses an organization that is doing everything it can to gain footing in our country's political arena. The organization is called the Democratic Union. Until very recently, on hearing this organization mentioned, many people associated it with the Union of the Sword and the Anvil, from "The Twelve Chairs". You recall this mythical union created by Ostap Bender and headed by Kisa Vorobyanov, but things have turned out to be more serious. The actions of the Democratic Union, particularly over the past few months, have shown it to be an organization that is politically opposed to the CPSU. Incidentally, the Democratic Unionites themselves often describe their organization as a party. The Democratic Union has its own manifesto, organizational principles, recruitment rules, financial resources, publications, and foreign links. But all this will be explained in greater detail in the program. I would just like to draw attention to the Democratic Union's contacts with the NTS, the

People's Labor Union of Russian Solidarists. The NTS does not conceal its anti-Soviet orientation; over the decades it has cooperated with virtually everyone, including the Nazis. Nor does the NTS conceal its plans for changing the USSR'S political system, using any means, moreover, up to and including armed struggle. In this program, by the way, you will hear certain representatives of the Democratic Union stating that terror can be useful.

We are now passing through a very tough but fundamentally important period in our history. We are destroying many preconceived ideas—above all, incidentally, in our own minds. Overall, this is leading to an enhancement of our society's political culture. Democracy is becoming the norm of life, but this cannot be achieved at the wave of a wand. Each of us today is responsible for what the country will be like tomorrow, our country, in which we, our children, and our grandchildren are to live. We ourselves have to learn, and we must teach our children, how to listen to others and take the views of others into account, even if they do not coincide with our own. Within this process a division is taking place between those who want genuine democracy and those who are playing political games and pursuing their own ends. Whatever names they might give to themselves, extremists—including the leaders of the Democratic Union—are demanding that their activities be judged by democratic norms, but their democratic approach evaporates as soon as someone takes the liberty of criticizing the Democratic Union's activities.

But for the moment, let us watch the program. Afterward, each of you will mull over what you have seen and reach your own conclusions. [Video shows a film clip; a frame bearing the date 21:08:88 is shown. Democratic union members are shown addressing a crowd of several dozen people and holding aloft placards reading "Freedom for Paruyr Ayrikyan," "Bring those responsible for the Novocherkassk shootings to account" and "Freedom for political prisoners." The demonstrators are heard shouting: "Participate strongly in the activities of the Democratic Union, a new political organization, an opposition political party"; "The Democratic Union is the only organization at present that proclaims the slogan 'The entire truth at whatever cost.' It is the only party, the only public organization, that believes that truth alone should serve the cause of democratization. Do not think that the ruling Communist Party, even its liberal wing, has an interest in the truth; no!"; and "Comrades, learn how to organize strikes." Several members of the public could be heard shouting "Provocateurs." This filmclip is followed by footage of a man walking along a street. The video is accompanied by a description by an unidentified speaker, who says, "This young man in the light raincoat is called Roman Mantulin. Six months ago he joined the Democratic Union and made a breathtaking career for himself by becoming a member of its Central Coordination Council. At that time he thought his ideas and views were in tune with the ideas of that group. But then, in those days, Roman had totally different views. He described himself as an internal emigre and was preparing to become a proper emigre, and that it why he made contact with people who were proclaiming themselves to be nothing short of an opposition political party in the Soviet Union. The return journey—from the Democratic Union to common sense and a sober assessment of the situation—proved to be far more difficult and painful for Roman than his swift and easy career as an oppositionist. He required a great deal of courage and resolve to make that journey, and afterward he turned to journalists and asked them to make his story known to others." The video then switches to a studio interview with Mantulin]

[Unidentified correspondent] Roman, let's start from the beginning. Why did you eventually decide to leave the Democratic Union?

[Mantulin] Well, there were two reasons; for personal considerations and because I did not wish to take part in a dirty game. The Democratic Union is a place where they play a dirty game.

[Correspondent] Do you mean the people or their aims?

[Mantulin] It is all bound up together, both the people and the aims.

[Correspondent] Concerning the people, it is clear from the publications distributed by the Democratic Union that the organization's leaders are attempting to look like very serious politicians. One only has to look at Valeriya Novodvorskaya's address to workers and peasants. [video shows document]

[Mantulin] And soldiers' deputies too.

[Correspondent, laughing] Yes, and soldiers' deputies too. It begins with the words 'Workers and peasants' and sets them certain tasks. The same weighty claims are made, as far as I am aware, by other members of the Democratic Union leadership as well. In other words, they are playing high, serious politics. What are the people playing this game like? You were a member of the Democratic Union leadership and had the opportunity to become quite closely acquainted with them.

[Mantulin] Well, to begin with I probably ought to talk about Novodvorskaya. She, Valeriya, stands (?head and sholders above) all the other members of the Democratic Union Central Committee. I would say that this is not just a known fact about the Democratic Union, but it is written large like a May Day banner...of the old type. She is a person with a simply fanatical belief, an infinitely fanatical belief in herself, and no belief in anyone else at all. She tries to force everyone else to believe in her, too, and, well, follow her wherever she goes. As we know, a fanatic is someone who (?considers) himself a prophet. [Video shows Novodvorskaya speaking during a demonstration; an unidentified speaker says "and so, player number one." The video then shows a frame dated

15:04:88, and Novodvorskaya is then shown addressing the demonstration. She says, "It seems to me that all the talk by official representatives about peace are deeply prejudiced. I think they are simply blasphemous, because if you want peace you do not prepare for war. Yet from its creation to the present day, our Soviet state, which we regretfully have to consider 'ours'—it would be nice to have just the people, and not to consider this state ours, but unfortunately they are inseparable, which is why I say 'our Soviet state'—has been an extremely aggressive one, and has always conducted an aggressive policy. Even today, in the era of restructuring, we have not given up our imperial acquisitions. Our task—the task of those who hold mankind dear, who wish mankind to have a future, and who hold dear the ideals of democracy—is, first and foremost, to change the existing social system." An unidentified speaker says over the video, "Valeriya Novodvorskaya is simply playing, selflessly and sincerely, noticing nothing and no one around her. This sets her apart from the rest of the team, from player number two, for example"]

[Mantulin, over video of a woman] This is Yevgeniya Debrayanskaya, a person who is proud never to have done a single day's work for the Soviet state. Nor does she have any intention of working anywhere. She simply wants to eventually leave the USSR....

[Correspondent, interrupting] Do the members, the ordinary members of the Democratic Union know that one of their leaders will (?probably) soon be leaving the country?

[Mantulin] No, when we found out about it, we immediately began disseminating the line—I was personally involved in this, unfortunately—that Debryanskaya was preparing to leave the country, but for medical treatment, that she bitterly regretted this...but would be treated and then return.

[Correspondent] So for her the Democratic Union was a sort of springboard for emigration?

[Mantulin] Yes, one of her springboards, because she was involved with the trust group. But she was unhappy being just a passive member. She decided to leave the trust group with a handful of members who supported her and set up her own 'trust' of, as they are called, Debryanists.

[Correspondent] According to Valeriya Novodvorskaya, Yevgeniya Debrayanskaya is bringing up two children and is also a major specialist in the field of military policy. How is all this to be explained, and is it true?

[Mantulin] Well, as far as the children are concerned, regrettably, most regrettably, Valeriya Novodvorskaya is deliberately lying. It is no secret to anyone that Yevgeniya Debryanskaya does not live with her children. The elder son, Vyacheslav, is in Volgodonsk with Yevgeniya's mother, while the younger, Artur, lives with his grandmother, Debryanskaya's mother-in-law, near the airport underground station, I think.

[Correspondent] Then Yevgeniya Debryanskaya is engrossed in the political struggle at the moment and has nothing to do with them?

[Mantulin] Well, I think she is just totally uninterested. She is not in the least interested in her children. I think she once said...well, that children are a big hindrance to her at the moment, that it was very stupid to give birth to so many children.

[Correspondent] I see. [Video shows film of Debryanskaya during a demonstration; the clip shows her being arrested by the militia. An unidentified speaker says over the video, "Player number two, in contrast to Valeriya Novodvorskaya, plays it much more carefully. Debryanskaya has her own plans for life; an invitation to Israel has been drawn up and she has already received it. But it is still too early to emigrate; she has to score some political points here. It does not matter why you end up in the police station; you only have to show that you are an active, or best of all very active, an oppositionist and enemy of the regime. Each emigre has his own references; player number two is collecting points. But we, for the moment, will say a few words about some of the past season's less noticeable players. One of them is Yuriy Denisov, another member of the Central Coordination Council of the Democratic Union, that is, player number three." [video shows Denisov sitting at a table with Debryanskaya and others]

[Mantulin] I have a friend whom I once asked if he would like to join the Democratic Union. I gave him a brief rundown of it and its leaders, and he said to me "Listen, people like Denisov have been shortchanging me in restaurants for 15 years. Do you want me to joint the Democratic Union so that they can continue swindling me there?" Denisov worked for a long time as a waiter in numerous restaurants in Moscow and elsewhere, and at the moment he is faced with the following dilemma. He is working out, he is thinking, that he is at the point where he has to choose whether to emigrate or become deputy director of Avtoservis [not further identified]. It is an insoluble problem for him at the moment; he is like Hamlet. [Video shows group of Democratic Union members, including Denisov, in an apartment. An unidentified speaker says, "A small clarification. We would on no account wish the personality of Yuriy Denisov to place all waiters who work conscientiously in restaurants in moscow and elsewhere in a bad light. But, alas, Denisov has already created for himself the sort of image we are talking about, by taking for himself, along with another member of the Democratic Union leadership, a video camera obtained from foreigners for the needs of the Moscow Democrats. The incident was subsequently examined at a session of the Central Coordination Council.]

[Correspondent] Does the Democratic Union give him any financial livelihood comparable to that of a vehicle service center deputy director?

[Mantulin] No, perhaps it is not so much a case of the Democratic Union giving it, as of him taking it himself.

[Correspondent] So, it is not difficult?

[Mantulin] Given the financial discipline that exists in the Democratic Union, it is not difficult at all. That is, members of the leadership can always obtain a given amount from the Democratic Union till.

[Correspondent] We will come back to finances a little later, but for the moment let us continue with the list. We have mentioned Valeriya Novodvorskaya, Yevgeniya Debryanskaya and Denisov.

[Mantulin] At fresh elections to the Central Coordinating Council, one (Aleksandr Chuyev) joined the council. (Aleksandr Chuyev) sounds a bit portentous, everyone calls him Democratic Sasha. The point is that the type of person he is is a failed Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] leader of the sort associated with the mid-seventies: a lot of words, a lot of appeals. I asked him, "Sasha, what specific proposals do you have?" His answer was, "Nothing."

He undertakes everything, exclaiming that he can start a newspaper, that he can put out magazines, that he knows how a photocopier works. The point is that when he was joining the Democratic Union, he was very interested in what sort of factions existed in the Democratic Union. He was told...[changes thought] At first he was going to be a Christian Socialist, but then he found out that this post on the Central Coordinating Council was already held by someone else.

[Correspondent] You mean someone is already head of that faction?

[Mantulin] In the Democratic Union in general, you get 10 factions for every five people. Then he [Chuyev] said, "Are there any Christian Democrats then?" "No." "Then I will be a Christian Democrat." He was asked, "Why a christian democrat?" He replied, "Well, I am a believer." This made it possible for him to enter the Central Coordinating council. He very much wanted to be a member of the Central Coordinating council. There is no doubt he dreamed of being in the Central Coordinating Council—that is the impression one got.

[Correspondent] So, by representing a new political faction, he had an opportunity of becoming a member of Central Coordinating Council?

[Mantulin] Well, he is the only one in Moscow in that faction, so it is easier for him. I must say, though, that when I asked him whether he knew the difference between the Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union in the FRG, he said, "Is it not all the same party?" To him it was the same party. He is not interested in the details—he just needs to consider himself as soneone, and all will be well!

[Correspondent] Who else is on the list?

[Mantulin] Then there is (Lev Grigoryevich Ubozhko), or Leva. According to him, he lay or sat, as he puts it, in psychiatric hospitals, in special psychiatric hospitals, and general hospitals, for 17 years. He begins to foam at the mouth. When someone does not agree with him, he just starts screaming his head off. There was an incident when he found out that Lukashev, one of the members of the Central Coordinating Council, had, with his own hand, written the number 001 on his party card, and (Lev Ubozhko) went around shouting, "I will smash his face in; I will break his glasses."

[Correspondent] Why was that?

[Mantulin] As it transpired later, it turned out that (Ubozhko) had also written 001 on his card, so that the Democratic Union now has two membership cards with the serial number, 1. [Video shows a group of people's wallets inscribed with Democratic Union. Membership cards are inside. On one card reads: Aleksandr Lukashev, born 1953. Video switches to group of Democratic Union members seated in an apartment; (Ubozhko) is in the foreground]

[Correspondent] So, he wanted to become father of the opposition (?party) [word indistinct]?

[Mantulin] Yes, that is what he said about himself. He said that he had set up the Democratic Union 17 years previously, and that what was happening now was thanks to him, and people were following in his footsteps. [video continues to show apartment scene]

[Unidentified speaker] As you can see, (Lev Ubozhko) is a seriou person, with special pretensions to the role of father of Russian democracy. In this shot he can be seen together with Denisov, whom we already know. Incidentally, it is no coincidence they are together. (Ubozhko) was Denisov's partner in taking the Western videocamera—but that is just a bit of fun and games. In general, he sees himself as the patriarch of the democratic movement in the Soviet Union. So let's give him a serial number; he is player number four.

Not so long ago, the father of Russian democracy was in the town of Cherepovets, and he made a fiery speech to local opposition members. We apologize for the quality of the recording that we have obtained. But you are going to see that it is worth paying closer attention to what is being said. There is a great difference between it and the pseudo-democratic homilies delivered by the leaders of the Democratic Union in, say, Moscow. But let us listen to what (Lev Ubozhko) himself has to say. You will be able to distinguish his voice from the others without difficulty.

[Video shows clip of Democratic Union demonstration with placard reading "Freedom to political prisoners in the USSR," then back to the shot of (Ubozhko) at the meeting in the apartment, with a turning audio cassette now shown on the other side of the screen]

[Unidentified speaker] (Lev Ubozhko) begins to speak.

[Voice on cassette—extremely poor recording, partly indistinct] Remember this once and for all. The following scenario is possible. The nonviolent way may not succeed. You must be ready for anything. Once again, remember the following. If we triumph, you realize for yourselves who is at the origin of this and who is initiating it. You realize all this, you will know (?what will happen in the future). You will naturally hold some sort of leading posts, of course. [words indistinct] We shall soon have funds.

[Another voice] The West is supporting us.

[First voice] [words indistinct]...collecting money-...[words indistinct]...campaign against us...[words indistinct]. Various tougher actions are possible. [Indistinct exchange with other voices] If tough actions take place, you will realize that your people will be taking a risk and they will be rewarded. That is natural. Some sort of actions are possible; for instance, the city party committee secretary could call on people to destroy you, to put you in jail, and so on. Anything can happen. [indistinct exchange with other voices]

[Another voice] Will there be hard currency?

[First voice] Yes there will. I repeat the words of [name indistinct]: There will be hard currency, there will be weapons, everything will be available. I'm talking about firearms. [indistinct exchange] As a member of the Central Coordinating Council, I am authorized to tell you...[words indistinct] ready to carry out terrorist act.

[Voices] Any act.

[Another voice]...training people...

[First voice] There will be money [word indistinct] (?neither support Stalinism nor communism).

[Video switches back to interview] [Correspondent] Lev Ubozhko's slogans about shooting and hanging everyone are interesting because the charter of the Democratic Union imposes on its members the binding rule that the path of violence must on no account be followed, that on no account must they act on the principle that the end justifies the means. It is all in the charter, and it is all repeated by leaders of the Democratic Union, including by Valeriya Novodvorskaya.

[Mantulin] Valeriya Novodvorskaya can say what she likes, and she is sincere in that. Valeriya Novodvorskaya herself would never follow the path of violence, she wouldn't take part in any terrorist act. I can give you a 100-percent guarantee. But there are other members of the Democratic Union, like (Lev Ubozhko), who don't consider that violence is violence. The upshot is that we shall murder you painlessly! But if she finds violence disagreeable, how do you explain the fact that 2 years ago Novodvorskaya herself was signing a petition on behalf of the not unknown (Timshchuk), who 8 years ago held up the Finnish Airlines office in Moscow with a sawn-off shotgun, and took hostages.

[Correspondent] Yes, the incident caused quite a stir.

[Mantulin] And when he finally got out of prison, he became a member of the democracy and humanism seminar headed by Novodvorskaya. This doesn't worry her at all.

[Unidentified speaker] And now let's try to sketch a collective portrait of the Democratic Union team. Here are the fruits of an upbringing in the spirit of (Lev Ubozhko). This is Aleksandr Skuratov, who has numerous convictions for purely criminal offences. He is the first and only player for the Democratic Union team in the town of Kalinin. The following quote is from him: At the appropriate moment, there will be support from abroad—an economic and political blockade of our government at the request of the Democratic Union. Our poor government! [Video shows still of demonstrators with Democratic Union banner. Skuratov's passport shown. Inside it are the inscriptions: I seek exit from the USSR. I hate the KGB and CPSU; Down with the communist yoke, communist enslavement, and the communist pestilence; The USSR's KGB and the CPSU are a crowd of criminals who are shedding my people's blood and who are capable of the most terrible crimes; I have realized that the most noble and sacred cause on earth is the liberation of my homeland and my people from the communist yoke, from the communist enslavement and the communist pestilence; and All join in the nationwide struggle against the communist pestilence. These handwritten entries deface the inside pages of the passport]

[Mantulin] There are also people like Mikhail Novoselov. He's an interesting character. He's something of a physicist, something of a mathmatician. He works in some hush-hush job. Once, in an informal conversation, he declared, out of the blue, that soon our aircraft would start to come down and crash. At first people just sat there, not understanding what he was getting at.

[Correspondent] Was this in a group of people?

[Mantulin] Yes, two or three other people were there. So what did he mean by aircraft crashing? Well, our (?ion exchangers) are really lousy, he said. People asked him how he knew they were lousy. He said he worked in a hush-hush job. They said, look, Mishka, how do you know? [passage indistinct] There must be more competent people than you checking. He said, I check them. They said: What do you mean you check them? He said, I deliberately take them (?and I approve) [word indistinct] the (?ion exchangers), so the aircraft flies off, and anything can happen to it. People asked: What if your mother or father were in the aircraft? He looked all serious: I hate this Sovdep [not further identified]. What other attitude can one have?

[Correspondent] Did this incident somehow put you on your guard?

[Mantulin] Yes, although it wasn't the only case when I heard people who regard and count themselves as democrats saying...[changes thought] one of them shouted: I have a machine gun...[words indistinct] and another shouted: When we gain power, we'll hang them all, to hell with it!, and someone else deliberately (?tampers with the ion exchanger to give inaccurate compass readings).

[Correspondent] When you heard about these (?ion exchangers), did you attempt to discuss it somehow with leaders?

[Mantulin] Yes, I was at the time press attache of Yevgeniya Debryanskaya, and I told her that this had happened. I told her that she was on close terms with Novoselov, that she confided in him, and he had been heard to say such a thing. He had been sober, he hadn't been drunk, and you couldn't call him mentally ill either. I asked her to exercise her influence on him. She said to me: Don't you realize that it's a good thing?—but he shouldn't talk about it so loudly, with everyone listening. He should do what he's doing quietly.

[Unidentified speaker] And here is Mikhail Novoselov himself—the man who hates Sovdep so much that he is prepared to bring down aircraft carrying his own family. [video shows still of bearded man] We have a message for people who are planning to fly on Aeroflot tomorrow. You can fly confidently. Mikhail Novoselov hasn't come close either to (?ion exchangers) or any other kind of aircraft equipment or to any actual aircraft. And as far as his statements are concerned, he was simply trying to improve his standing in the Democratic Union. People like that are highly respected there.

[Mantulin] Going back to Debryanskaya, this reproof I received from her just made me think how low people can sink in their pathological negation of everything. It was even said that it would be good if the explosions on the Metro carried out in the seventies—you may remember them—were carried out now. I'm not saying under any circumstances that Debryanskaya could incite anyone to that sort of thing. No, she would never agree to anything like that.

[Correspondent, interrupting] [passage indistinct]

[Mantulin] But she would have been pleased by it, as, for instance, many in the Democratic Union were pleased when the accident occurred at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. Many of the self-styled democrats sat and rubbed their hands in glee, saying what a good thing it was. [video shows aftermath of Chernobyl disaster]

[Correspondent] Did you see that yourself?

[Mantulin] Well, I [words indistinct] she held exactly that view at the time. It didn't make much of an impression on (?her). It didn't affect (?her). When there was the "red arrow" accident [on the Moscow-Leningrad railway], it was the same. Members of the Democratic Union, who claim to be champions of the destiny of the people, greet such things with a chuckle [words indistinct] It's all fine. It's all a good thing. [video shows train accident, still of Democratic Union demonstrators]

[Unidentified speaker] The portrait of the principal members of the Democratic Union could almost be ended there. Now let's turn to another not unimportant question. Where does the team get its money?

[Mantulin] If you go by what official Democratic Union documents say, the Democratic Union subsists on three types of revenues: party membership dues, which do not exceed 1 percent of salary; sales of the party's printed publications; and voluntary donations. Those are the three official elements in the Democratic Union's funds. Well, regarding membership fees of members of the Democratic Union, these are tears, which are bitter, but tears, nevertheless. Many members of the Democratic Union either work for R80 or do not work at all.

[Correspondent] Yes, but taking into account that they (?are devoting all their strength to their political activities), then, naturally, 1 percent of their wages will be very [changes thought]. Let's leave that aside.

[Mantulin] Well, the profit from the sale of printed organs is also small. And the main source of income is made up of so-called voluntary donations. Well, the greater part of the voluntary donations arrive, in principle, anonymously and reach very impressive amounts, R1,000, R1,500, well 100, 10, 15, whatever people can afford. Well, repeatedly there were receipts of 1,000, 1,500. As the chairman of the financial commission, Yeliseyenko, boasted one day, well, R10,000 was received from one man, X, from X. [video shows Yeliseyenko]

[Unidentified person] May I have your name?

[Yeliseyenko] Valentin Yeliseyenko [word indistinct]

[Unidentified person] Valentin...

[Yeliseyenk] Yeliseyenko.

[Unidentified person] Ye...

[Yeliseyenko]...lisyenko, lawyer and journalist. [still photo of Yeliseyenko, frozen from the video, lingers briefly on the screen]

[Correspondent] This arrives at the financial commission which is led by Yeliseyenko?

[Mantulin] Yes.

[Correspondent] Further, does the Financial Commission somehow give account to the rank-and-file members of the Democratic Union for the fact that these funds exist, and what they are spent on. Is there a financial account or are bulletins published? It is true that I have never seen one.

[Mantulin] No, well, firstly, no. There is an auditing commission, which could supervise the activities of the Financial Commission. (?However, it is too lazy to work). The Financial Commission, in general, only exists in the person of Yeliseyenko alone and he gives account (?only) to (Igor Tsarkov). Major support to the Democratic Union is given by Sergey Grigoryants. He is the editor of the independent magazine GLASNOST. This, first enables it to publish its printed organs essentially free of charge, without spending a single kopeck.

[Correspondent] That is to say, enables the Democratic Union?

[Mantulin] Yes, the Democratic Union. Because Sergey Grigoryants makes all his equipment available.

[Correspondent] Telexes and computers go to Grigoryants?

[Mantulin] Yes, yes. For the printed organs, everything is made available to Grigoryants, and (?they go) into computers. [video shows still of Grigoryants holding a telephone receiver to his ear]

[Unidentified speaker] And so Sergey Grigoryants. We have come to the main figure who stands behind the Democratic Union team, although you can't call him a player. Grigoryants is not a member of the Democratic Union. Rather he plays the role of team sponsor.

But where does the sponsor himself receive his wages? In part an answer to this question can be found in the American magazine NATION and in the Danish newspaper INFORMATION.

At the start of 1988 they told of the activities of the American Center for Democracy which finances the publication of GLASNOST and at the same time they disclosed to the world the fact that the Center itself receives subsidies directly from the U.S. special services. The Copenhagen newspaper INFORMATION wrote in particular: [video shows the still of article entitled "Sovjetiske Systemkritikere Skulle Spionere for USA" ("Soviet System's Critics Said to Spy for the USA") by Kevin Coogan and Katrina Vanden Huvel] The link between the Center for Democracy and the GLASNOST magazine is worrying since in 1985 the National Foundation for Democracy—which was set up by the U.S. Congress in 1983—gave the center money from the United States for a program which looked more like collecting intelligence data than defending human rights.

In Moscow, Sergey Grigoryants [video shows Grigoryants holding two copies of glasnost] was not delighted with these frank publications but his financial position did not at all suffer from them. It looks as if (Lev Ubozhko) was telling the truth when he promised that abroad they would help. For the time being, at least, people abroad are not abandoning (?him).

[Mantulin] It is said in the circles of the Democratic Union, in the circles of the higher echelons of power of the Democratic Union, it is said there that Sergey Ivanovich is a very rich man and that he is helping us, thank God. The money from him, as a rule, comes through (?Asula Shiver), who acts as a go-between for Grigoryants and the Democratic Union. In fact, I think she's in every organization that exists in Moscow. [video shows still of a woman] She's in Civic Dignity [grazhdanskoye dostoinstvo], in People's Action [narodnoye deystviye] and virtually everything. The expression a finger in every pie (?suits Asula) perfectly. So there she is, moving between Sergey Grigoryants and the Democratic Union, and it's through her that the money is passed. Grigoryants himself...is also an active participant. He's the chief editor of the Democratic Union's newsletter.

[Correspondent] So you mean he combines his other activities with the publication of the newsletter?

[Mantulin] Yes, but he evidently considers himself to be the only major independent journalist anyway, so that's why he wants to encompass everything that can be called democratic.

[Correspondent] And has he ever expressed any desire to control or direct the activities of the Democratic Union? Are there any instructions given by him for the (?Democratic Union)?

[Mantulin] Well, Sergey Ivanovich is generally not a verbose man. He usually just mumbles yes or no, so it's difficult to establish anything here, but there is a provision within the Democratic Union that not a single line can be published without the go-ahead from Sergey

Grigoryants. This is a bit like the old Stalinist system, when not a single line could be published if it was disadvantageous to the party.

[Correspondent] So the independent Sergey Grigoryants has become a most severe censor for the opposition Democratic Union party?

[Mantulin] Yes, because, for example, he would say [passage indinstict]

[Correspondent] And after that the article would not be published?

[Mantulin] No.

[Correspondent] So as I understand it, there are constant consultations with him?

[Mantulin] Yes, on every word. Literally on every word.

[Correspondent] Roman, you said that Novodvorskaya, who stands a little aloof in the Democratic Union in her character and conduct, is quite unconcerned by any materialistic considerations. Do you think she is in on the financial arrangements within the Democratic Union?

[Mantulin] It's not a matter of her being in on them. She's simply not interested in them. It's just of no interest to her. All she wants to do is deliver speeches, hold seminars on democracy and humanism, talk to the people, write these appeals to the workers and peasants. That's her interest.

[Correspondent] And what about the other Democratic Union leaders?

[Mantulin] The other leaders have made use of the cash-box, sometimes as if it were even their own purse—whether to pay for some binge that cost a bomb, or for something else. [Video shows group of Democratic Union members in discussion around a table]

[Unidentified speaker] But let's be objective nonetheless. The money received by the Democratic Union from the exceptionally independent Grigoryants and other sources is not only used for the entertainment of its leaders. Money is paid out for work and if anyone, Sergey Grigoryants, the Democratic Union's sponsor, is perfectly aware of this. So the democrats try, try hard. [video shows grigoryants on the phone, Democratic Union demonstration]

[Mantulin] The thing is that they would deliberately choose things to demonstrate about that were bound to be prohibited. At one of their meetings they even discussed what would happen if their protest was actually permitted, it would be terrible [word indistinct]. (?Somebody asked) how could they permit it, and someone else said: Nobody will permit it. So everything will be fine. They would chose such things to demonstrate about...for example, many Democratic Union members—I would call them inexperienced, ordinary members—asked: What do the events in Czechoslovakia 20 years ago have to do with us? We have plenty of concerns of our own. Perhaps it would be better to put forward some demands concerning our own domestic affairs? The explanation that was given was this: The whole point is that, of course, we have many problems. But 21 August, the 20th anniversary of the events in the CSSR, is something that, like it or not, will be marked by world public opinion, and we will be coming out in unison with world public opinion. If we go out on 5 September, the 70th anniversary of the Red Terror, world public opinion will also be marking this, and we shall again be in step with world public opinion. But what concern is there in the West ultimately that there is a difficult situation in our food shops, that our pay is not very high, and so on? This, then, is our internal problem, and we will solve it afterwards. The point now is to link up with world public opinion, and we will tackle our internal problems afterwards.

And members of the Democratic Union were concerned-...for instance, Igor Tsarkov, a member of the Central Coordinating Council, was concerned about one thing. Why were there so few correspondents at Pushkin Square on 21 August?

[Correspondent] What correspondents, Soviet ones?

[Mantulin] No, Western correspondents. I think there were two or three. Mind you, he said later that more arrived, but at first there were just two or three correspondents.

[Correspondent] So he saw two or three?

[Mantulin] Yes, he said two or three was too few. It upset him greatly and when we were taken to the police station he was fretting and asking: Why are there so few correspondents? What's going on? What's going on? What's gone wrong? He was swearing at Mityunov, who is responsible for keeping Western correspondents informed. Then, when he learned that there had been a large number of correspondents after all, he calmed down.

[Correspondent] But in order to achieve this link-up with world public opinion it is necessary for people from the Democratic Union to be taken away and beaten with truncheons, isn't that so [words indistinct] this moment of confrontation with representatives of the authorities and [word indistinct] militiamen? [video shows Western cameraman at demonstration; scuffles]

[Mantulin] The point is that when Novodvorskaya herself says that the Democratic Union does not seek confrontation, she is lying again. This is because for the Democratic Union rowdy demonstrations like those on

21 August and 5 September... Members of the Democratic Union knew in advance that the demonstrations would end in a rumpus, and this is what was required, it's what the Democratic Union required. It was required because, as was said at a session of the Central Coordinating Council prior to 21 August, we are a resistance organization, we are the hope of the entire democratic world, and if people in the West see that human rights are not observed in the Soviet Union and that everything remains on same level as under Brezhnev, the Soviet Union won't get machine tools, computers, or equipment.

This is a propos of what we are saying about Novodvorskaya saying she had the Soviet people's welfare fully at heart.

These demonstrations will simply put the West off restructuring which is, according to Novodvorskaya, soiled by the Bolsheviks.

[Correspondent] In other words, the term "restructuring"....

[Mantulin, interrupting] Yes, the term "restructuring" was discarded from the Democratic Union's vocabulary because, according to Valeriya Novodvorskaya, it had been sullied by the Bolsheviks, by their blood-stained hands.

[Correspondent] Well, if one continues this logical line further, then, in case the Soviet Union does not get this or that item, the Democratic Union hoped the course toward restructuring would, therefore, be economically undermined. In this case, could one regard that as one of the goals of the Democratic Union? One of their real targets?

[Mantulin] Well, their real targets are those put on paper....

[Correspondent, interrupting] I mean their true tasks....

[Mantulin]...whereas here we see their hidden tasks, so to speak. As a hidden task, it has been and is in the interests of the Democratic Union because it is easier to fish in muddy water. It has been said that the Democratic Union can come to power or enlist a great number of members only if the situation in the country is fully destabilized—if the country becomes an economic, ecological, and political ruin. When such a crises emerges, the Democratic Union has a chance to compete with the CPSU for political power. [Video shows several people in a room. An unidentified speaker says, "The Democratic Union is a political organization opposing today's social and state system." A film clip showing a street rally, with people holding banners, is shown. An unidentified speaker shouts, "Take an active part in the events organized by the Democratic Union—a new political organization and an opposition political party." Another film clip is shown. Novodvorskaya is shown holding a banner on which only the word "Freedom" can be seen. An unidentified voice says, "Be prepared for nationwide demonstrations and strikes if the demonstrations fail to give the desired effect." The video then switches back to the studio]

[Correspondent] I understand that Novodvorskaya and, say, Denisov, who worked as a waiter earlier, have different motives....

[Mantulin interrupting] He is closer to democracy....

[Correspondent, interrupting]...however, what about some average member of those rallies organized by the Democratic Union?

[Mantulin] Well, here I should, perhaps, speak about myself, too, because those like myself and people calling themselves "The Democratic Movement" have, in essence, never ever smelled democracy. The best idea would be to learn democracy together with everybody else, as we are doing at the present stage of development of our state. But members of "The Democratic Movement" see themselves as outright democrats and fully fledged humanists, and capable of teaching democracy to others. But sometimes one gets the impression that many members of the Democratic Union and many leaders of the Democratic Union seem to get their kicks, I would say, out of what happens at their meetings. Well, picture it, a person who throughout his life was a kind of social outsider. Throughout his life they worked on him at meetings, at work, in school, at the institute. With his thoughts he somehow didn't fit in within the framework of ordinary society of the eighties, the start of the eighties, the seventies. Here he gets the opportunity to simply stigmatize things, to criticize things, to make speeches himself. Some kind of activeness with perhaps a different (?plus) charge simply awakens here in a person, and for many, perhaps for the younger members of the Democratic Union, this is a game. For those who are among the veterans in this movement, however, this is not at all a game; it is simply an ossification, (?twistedness), and I would say an inability to look further than one's own nose, because if I know that I am a democrat, for the life of me no one will prove to me that I am not a democrat.

[Correspondent] Understood.

[Mantulin] The Democratic Union as a whole, while it (? came out) against bureaucracy, functions at the very least within the framework of the best traditions of the bureaucracy which the Communist Party has already rejected. The fact is that....

[Correspondent, interrupting]...the (?directives) taking shape...

[Mantulin]...in everything we, and that includes me, have simply fallen behind in our development, so to speak. It is as if the brakes came on at the point we were in 1980. We came to a halt, as if we could not move on. Perhaps no one is even trying to get out and get beyond this, beyond this standstill. It is what is called stagnation, what can rightly be called a stagnant organization. I myself have called on many people to join the Democratic Union, when I was still an activist, to (?demonstrate) in Red Square. I would just like to say that they...[changes thought] like me, other activists of the Democratic Union, (?who probably had an aware view) of the aims and tasks of the Democratic Union, [word indistinct] because a person who achieves things more quickly (?will be luckier). A person who remains in their shell will probably not achieve anything.

[Correspondent] What would you like to say to those people who perhaps now, although there are very few of them, are pondering the question of what the Democratic Union is, what would you say perhaps to one of them who wrote an application yesterday to join the organization after hearing the activists in Pushkin Square?

[Mantulin] Probably first and foremost I would like to apologize to those people who joined the Democratic Union through me, after hearing my sermons on Pushkin Square. I would like to say that if a person really wants to change something in the life of his country, to take part in order to change life, both his own life and that of his people—to change it for the better—that the Democratic Union is not the organization that will help him, or contribute to putting these dreams into practice.

[Correspondent] You yourself, today, how do you see the Democratic Union?

[Mantulin] Well, now, I just very much regret those wasted months, and you can say that that part of my life was simply lost.

[An unidentified, off-camera speaker says the following: "Roman Mantulin, a former member of the Central Coordination Council of the Democratic Union, and today a full citizen of our society, managed to understand all this. Today he considers the months that he belonged to the Democratic Union as having been lost from his life. But it was good that it was only a few months." Video changes to show stills of people mentioned throughout the program. The unidentified speaker continues over the video, "But the remaining inveterate democrats continue the game they have thought up. Valeriya Novodvorskaya is writing fresh appeals to the workers and peasants, but now in Possev, the organ of the reactionary emigre People's Labor Union. Debryanskaya, it is said, has decided to create her own party. (Lev Ubozhko), the father of Russian democracy, has quarrelled definitively with everyone, and is now patching together his own party. Why not? Is that not what multi-partyism is all about? Someone, somewhere, blows the starting whistle. The players go out into the field. Video shows people coming out of an apartment in single file]

Law on 'Discrediting' Official Bodies Criticized

PM1005090289 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 17, 22-29 Apr 89 (Signed to Press 18 Apr) p 7

[Untitled letter from Candidate of Legal Sciences R. Tsivilev]

[Text] You might think that the time has come to point out errors and omissions, rectify them, and deal strictly with those who are to blame, regardless of their official position. No, dear fellow citizens, nowadays you have to think seriously before criticizing anyone. What makes you think is the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree adopted on 8 April 1989. It says, word for word, in black and white, the following, in part: "Public abuse or discreditation of the highest organs of state power and administration of the USSR, or of other state organs formed or elected by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies or the USSR Supreme Soviet, or of officials appointed, elected, or approved by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies or the USSR Supreme Soviet, or equally of social organizations and their all-union organs set up in accordance with the procedure laid down by the law and operating in accordance with the USSR Constitution, is punishable by deprivation of liberty for up to 3 years or a fine of up to R2,000."

It seems that you can criticize deputy ministers of union departments, you can criticize all the minor chiefs, and even the chairmen of union republic Councils of Ministers come within the orbit of criticism. But you cannot critize those who are higher up, for instance, in the USSR Government. As for social organizations, they too are inviolate; the temperance society, for instance, which regularly collects membership dues and does little else. (I am afraid to say that it does poor work or fails to fulfill its functions, because that could, if you like, be assessed as discreditation.) You can criticize a CPSU Central Committee secretary, that is apparently allowed, but not the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (but its secretaries—yes, go ahead).

Yes, they are lucky, the many good writers for NOVYY MIR, ZNAMYA, OGONEK, KROKODIL, and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, who criticized not the little men, but the activity of unionwide departments and their leaders, for instance the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, and others, who destroyed nature, ruined the harvested crops, and produced sausages that even cats will not eat. The decree is not retroactive. Past exposures of this kind are not punishable as crimes, although thanks to these authors' efforts the aforementioned departments and their leaders were discredited. As a result they even dismissed a minister and abolished the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee for the benefit of the people.

But now the USSR Ministry of Finance and its leader, B.I. Gostev, can live in peace, because no one will now dare to assert that their activity (or inactivity) was the cause of the enormous state budget deficit, the disordered state of the money supply, and the sharp increase in inflationary processes in the country. Such an assertion, if not abuse, is at least discreditation.

What kind of word is this "discreditation," used by the drafters of the decree, who are, as always, unidentified? To discredit means to undermine trust in someone, belittle the authority of someone, for instance the aforementioned departments and their leaders. But all this can be the consequence of honest, dispassionate, and objective criticism.

Let us be frank, the secretly originated decree in question is a major victory for the authoritarian system, for the official elite, though a victory that, let us hope, is only temporary.

What is to be done? How can the right of every USSR citizen to criticize shortcomings in work and the prohibition of persecution for criticism (which is discussed in Article 49 of the country's Fundamental Law) be compatible with the imposition of criminal responsibility for discreditation, that is, basically, criticism of high-ranking organs and officials? Get to the bottom of this—that is my instruction to the USSR people's deputies.

[Signed] R. Tsivelev, candidate of legal sciences

Baltic Assembly Asks Moscow for Independence

AU1505160089 Paris AFP in English 1536 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Tallinn, Soviet Union, May 15 (AFP)—Nationalists in the three Baltic republics asked the Soviet authorities and the international community Monday to meet their demands for independence from Moscow in "a neutral and demilitarized European zone."

Members of the Popular Fronts of Latvia and Estonia joined representatives of Lithuania's Sajudis movement in a joint appeal to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, the United Nations secretary-general and the heads of member states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The published text, finally adopted by some 350 delegates to a first Baltic Assembly at the weekend, used the term "independence" and not "sovereignty" as originally planned, but carefully avoided any reference to the idea of secession.

Nationalists instead expressed their "total confidence that, during the year, the Soviet Government will declare null and void the accords of August 23 and September 28, 1939, as well as the secret protocol agreed by the Stalin regime and the German (Third) Reich."

Moscow does not recognize the existence of the secret Molotov-Ribbentrop pacts of 1939, in which Hitler's Nazis assigned the formerly independent states to the Soviet sphere of interest, a few months before they were annexed by Soviet leader Josef Stalin.

In their statement Monday, the nationalists said they were convinced that authorities in Moscow "will not oppose the restoration of state sovereignty in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania through negotiations."

It took a lot of discussion to turn the original draft into a final, much altered independence statement. Communist Party representatives in the three states were invited to the assembly, but did not attend.

Delegates hesitated, torn by "their desire not to run up against central authority while at the same time alerting world opinion to their situation," according to one nationalist who asked not to be named.

The gathering also agreed on nine joint declarations, while elected representatives to the revamped Soviet parliament, the Congress of People's Deputies, hammered out five resolutions to be put to the new assembly, which will first meet on May 25.

One of the nine texts was a "Declaration of the rights of Baltic nations" stressing the "right to self-determination of political status," on the basis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Vienna statement of the CSCE.

Another document set out guidelines for economic independence. Estonian representative Liina Tonisson [name as received] commented that pricing policy and development plans could best be defined within the framework of a new "Baltic common market."

Edgar Savisaar, head of the Estonian team, said the Baltic Assembly would meet each year with "three aims: coordinating (the nationalist) movements, attracting the attention of the international community and preparing for the Congress of People's Deputies."

The five resolutions to be taken to the new Congress next week call on it to "express support for perestroika (economic restructuring)" and ask for a "new Soviet constitution, the restoration of sovereignty to each state of the union, and the right to decide their own foreign policy".

Marju Lauristin of Estonia warned that the 119 Baltic deputies—24 Estonians, 55 Lithuanians and 40 Latvians—could find themselves isolated among the 2,250 people making up the new Congress.

"The only answer lies in the way that coordination between our representatives and progressives in Moscow will turn into a coalition," she added.

Latvian Popular Front Secretary-General Sandra Kalniete [name as received] said the movements were also addressing other "democratic movements in the Soviet Union" to stress their "main objective: the democratisation of the Soviet Union". They called for the release of Armenian nationalist members of the Karabakh committee, held without trial for five months.

Reporting on the assembly Monday, the IZVESTIA government daily made no mention of the independence call, but said delegates were drawing up "a common platform on problems of economic and political sovereignty."

Vagris Addresses Russian Speakers' Rally in Riga

PM1205091089 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 4 May 89 pp 2-3

[LATINFORM report: "Dialogue or Confrontation?"]

[Text] The participants of a rally held at the Riga maritime commercial port at 1500 hours on 3 May expressed their opinions on the political situation in the republic and the draft Law on Languages published recently in the press, as well as a number of other documents that, in the opinion of those present, restrict the rights of the so-called Russian-speaking population of Latvia. In the name of the representatives of 36 of the Latvian capital's enterprises and organizations present at the rally, they adopted a message for the CPSU Central Committee, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, and the republic Supreme Soviet in order to put forward their proposals.

The message says that strikes are not a way of resolving urgent problems and sensitive issues, but at the same time the participants in the rally view with understanding the decision by labor collectives on 28 April 1989 to express their protests in the form of a warning strike, so that they will be heard by the republic leadership. In the event the Law on Languages is adopted by a session of the republic Supreme Soviet without consideration for the opinions of the Russian-speaking population, the message says, we reserve the right to adopt countermeasures.

About 15 people came to the microphone that day. There was harsh criticism of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers. It was also said that creative unions, with the help of the mass media, have monopolized the right to speak on behalf of all the people of Soviet Latvia.

The rally was addressed by Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. He answered questions raised in the course of the rally and explained the Central Committee position on the problems touched on. He noted, in particular, that he does not agree with the assessment of the existing situation as explosive and an emergency. That definition is a way of stirring up the atmosphere and inflaming passions. Much has been said here about the problems of the Russian-speaking section of the republic's population, Ya.Ya. Vagris said, but the other side—the Latvian speakers—was forgotten entirely.

I do not think that today you can use Stalinist methods and count people as bourgeois nationalists solely because they want to speak their native Latvian language in the land where they were born and where they live. It was in consideration of the interests of different language groups that the first and second drafts of the Law on Languages were drawn up, with the aim of democratizing the practice of language use. Observations and proposals put forward in the course of the discussion were taken into account. It is now up to the plenum that will discuss the draft and the republic Supreme Soviet. In parallel, a state program is being drawn up to provide for the switch to the state language, and this will be the first item on the agenda at the upcoming session. Last Decmeber a republic Council of Ministers resolution was adopted on ways to implement legal provisions on language. Unfortunately it was not published in the press and that was a mistake.

Ya.Ya. Vagris did not agree with attacks against certain republican leaders, especially since they were not present at the rally and could not offer explanations. As for strikes, the first secretary noted that the attitude to them was already expressed in the 26 April Central Committee Bureau decision, and tomorrow the plenum will give its assessment too. Ya.Ya. Vagris promised to bring the full text of the message to the notice of the plenum participants.

It is hardly possible in this report to reflect the full range of opinions voiced at the rally. The most characteristic are reflected in the message. This is how they are formulated:

1. All officials and citizens of the republic should fulfill strictly and unconditionally the existing Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution and laws and legislative acts that are not in conflict with the Fundamental Law of the USSR and the Latvian SSR.

2. In formulating new laws that affect the vital interests of the republic's citizens, haste should be avoided, and they should be submitted for nationwide discussion and a referendum.

3. Prior to the adoption of laws on languages, immigration, and citizenship, a state program of economic feasibility measures on the questions concerned should be drawn up.

4. The adoption of the laws on languages and citizenship should take place after the CPSU Central Committee plenum on ethnic issues.

5. The names of persons guilty of violating Article 17 of the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies should be published and proceedings taken against them.

6. Republic Council of Ministers Resolution No 46 should be brought into line with existing republican laws, and the unjustified removal from the Latvian SSR Housing Code of the point making provision for listing persons living in hostels and improving their housing conditions should be revoked.

7. The 15th Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum resolution on the mass media should be fulfilled and the decision on the declared composition of the editorial board of Latvian Television's Russian channel should be condemned as provocative.

8. In connection with the statement by the chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium on continuing the practice of adopting draft laws that are at variance with the USSR Constitution (Article 24), this statement should be condemned as incompatible with his post, membership in the CPSU, and title of people's deputy.

On the same day at the Riga Electrical Machine-Building Plant Association there was a meeting of the collective with A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, at which similar problems of the republic's life were discussed.

Latvian Plenum Reviews Language Law, Strikes

PM1505144389 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 5 May 89 p 1

[LATINFORM report: "Information Report on Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held on 4 May.

First secretaries of city party committees [gorkoms] and rayon party committees [raykoms], chairmen of city soviet executive committees [gorispolkoms] and rayon soviet executive committees, leaders of ministries and departments, representatives of Communist Youth League and trade union organs, Communist deputies to the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, and leaders of the People's Front and the International Front who are not members of the Central Committee or the Auditing Commission, as well as mass media workers, were invited to the plenum.

The plenum examined the following agenda:

1. Measures to radically improve the study of the Latvian language by the republic's population.

2. The draft Latvian SSR Law on Languages.

3. Organizational questions.

Reports on items 1 and 2 of the agenda were delivered by V.G. Bresis, chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, and A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, then briefed those present on the text of an address to participants in the Central Committee plenum adopted at a meeting held in the Riga Maritime Trade Port 3 May.

The following spoke during the debates on the reports: V.D. Sarkan, first secretary of Talsinskiy party raykom; L.M. Kalinina, teacher at Riga's No. 5 secondary school; A.A. Stroda, mechanized milking foreman on Madonskiy Rayon's "Barkava" State Farm; Ya.Ya. Peters, chairman of the Latvian Writers' Union Board; V.V. Zharkov, first secretary of Daugavpils party gorkom; M.M. Vermanis, senior machine operator at the Ligatne paper factory; V.N. Petrakov, chief of the "Kommutator" Production Association Design Bureau; Ye.A. Treytsis, electrician at the Riga railroad car building plant; P.P. Upeniyek, general director of the Rezekne dairy product canning combine; A.P. Klautsen, first secretary of Riga party gorkom; A.A. Buylis, Latvian SSR minister of public education; A.A. Chishchakov, first secretary of Rizhskiy party raykom; I.Ya. Kezbers, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; E.P. Eglit, secretary of the Latvian Shipping Company party committee.

Closing speeches were delivered by A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and V.G. Bresis, chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers. They replied to questions addressed to the main speakers.

The plenum was addressed by Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

A relevant resolution was adopted on the questions under discussion.

The plenum adopted a resolution condemning strikes as a means of political pressure and as damaging the cause of restructuring.

Organizational questions were then examined. Ya.Ya. Vagris reported that A.K. Zitmanis, member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, submitted an application requesting to be relieved of his duties as member of the Central Committee Bureau in connection with his retirement on pension, while V.I. Grishin, member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, requested to be relieved of his duties as member of the Central Committee and member of the Central Committee Bureau in connection with his departure to take office beyond our borders.

The plenum granted the requests by A.K. Zitmanis and V.I. Grishin.

Ya.Ya. Vagris reported that N.V. Denisenko, I.A. Reymane, and L.E. Freyberg, members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, and E.G. Dreybande, member of the Latvian Communist Party Auditing Commission, addressed the following request to the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission:

"We, a group of members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and Auditing Commission, having studied the materials of the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum, entirely and fully support the plenum decisions, including that on the question of resignation from office by a number of members of the party's central elected organs in connection with their age-related retirement on pension.

"We deem it expedient that the republic party organization should adopt a similar decision. Consequently, we address to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee a request to examine the question of our resignation from membership of the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission.

"We are profoundly grateful for the trust shown in us, and give assurances that we will continue to take an active part in the republic's social life and the solution of tasks assigned to Communists by the party."

The plenum of the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission granted this request and relieved N.V. Denisenko, I.A. Reymane, and L.E. Freyberg of their membership in the Central Committee, and E.G. Dreybande of his membership in the Latvian Communist Party Auditing Commission.

Ya.Ya. Vagris expressed deep gratitude to the comrades for their work as members of the party's elected organs and conveyed good wishes.

Ya.Ya. Vagris then went on to report that 18 Communists who are presently members of Latvian Communist Party central organs are pensioners: 13 of the 141 members of the Central Committee, 3 of the 57 candidate members of the Central Committee, and 2 of the 42 members of the Auditing Commission.

V.D. Sarkan, first secretary of Talsinskiy party raykom, R.P. Volyatovskaya, handler-marker at Riga's "Latviya" Sewn Goods Production Association, and A.D. Drozda, chairman of Liyepaya Gorispolkom, were promoted from candidate members to full members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

Following a secret ballot, Colonel General F.M. Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, was co-opted as member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and was elected member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

A.S. Lagno, senior organizer at the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, took part in the plenum's work.

Material from the plenum will be published in the press in the near future.

Gorbunov Notes Latvian Language Law Ramifications

PM1605090189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 5 May 89 p 2

[LATINFORM account of report by A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum in Riga on 4 May, under the general heading "The Law on Languages Should Be Approached on the Basis of Cooperation and Consolidation"]

[Excerpts] The period of revolutionary renewal in literally all spheres of our society's life has made it possible to frankly and directly embark on an examination of pressing problems in interethnic relations, including the language problem, the speaker said. Following the republic's Supreme Soviet session on 6 October 1988, which adopted a resolution granting state language status to the Latvian language, people repeatedly asked: Is there any need for a law on languages? The debates which took place in the republic gave a virtually indisputable answer that there is a need for it. [passage omitted]

The process of discussion was contradictory and complex. The situation remains complex to this day. This is natural, because the language sphere is one of the most topical and most complex spheres of interethnic relations. There are objections on both sides. In this context great importance is attached to the form in which these objections are expressed, how well argued they are, and mainly the goal they pursue. The stance of the International Front of Latvia's Working People [Interfront] has been made universally known, especially in the last few days. The Central Committee Bureau has condemned the ultimatum approach and the methods of political struggle using economic blackmail. Regardless of this, the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium strove to objectively examine and take into account both proposals and demands. Interfront's proposals and demands kept changing. This can be attributed to the fact that the draft law itself kept changing, taking into account also the proposals and demands by the Interfront.

I, for example, in my capacity as a Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet deputy, received a resolution from Leningradskiy Rayon Interfront supporters demanding that the examination of the draft law be postponed pending nationwide discussion of the state program for the introduction of the Latvian language as the state language. The concern is justified. The program must indeed be realistic, in other words, it must create conditions for those wishing to study the Latvian language. The Supreme Soviet Presidium and

Council of Ministers are shouldering tremendous responsibility for this program. But equal responsibility and understanding must be shown by those who would wish to study the Latvian language. If there are no objections in principle to the law, then it must be adopted and additional work on the program must be done jointly, the main point being that it should be implemented jointly. After all, it cannot make provision for all details until the law itself is adopted. As regards a referendum on the law itself, then unfortunately I must say here that the Interfront comrades have failed to grasp to this day what is, in my view, the most substantial fact—that interethnic questions, especially in the language sphere, can never be resolved by referendums. These problems can be resolved only via the quest for mutually acceptable solutions. Yes, there should be a nationwide discussion. But were the past 3-4 months not a period of nationwide discussion? One could agree that the actual discussion mechanism is far from perfect, just like all our democratic forms are far from perfect.

But there were also objections of another magnitude. For example, at yesterday's meeting at the Riga Electrical Machine-Building Plant Association which I attended, Latvian members of the labor collective council spoke against the law granting labor collective councils certain rights in questions of choosing the language of internal official business, arguing that they are a minority there and, as one of them put it, nobody has heeded their voice for 30 years.

The law cannot provide for every instance when things are not as they should be. It lays down general principles which should provide the basis on which every labor collective should seek mutually acceptable solutions. The draft law has been thoroughly fine-tuned, and we would very much like to see the discussion at today's plenum not leaning in favor of either side. And now about the draft law itself, which the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium will submit for examination by the session. First of all, it should be noted that it guarantees the protection and further development of the Latvian language without infringing the constitutional rights of citizens of other nationalities to use their native language or another language. It seems to us that humanitarian goals are enshrined in the law on a democratic basis. The main one of these goals is to ensure that our republic's permanent residents are fluent in the Latvian and Russian languages. The law's attention is focused on the republic's citizen and his right to freely use his native language. All of the law's articles, including the article on liability for infringement of citizens' right to choice of language, are subordinated to this principle. Unfortunately, infringements have already occurred. For example, some of our savings banks have started using forms only in the Latvian language. I perceive this as an act not only of negligence but also of provocation by officials. Unfortunately, such instances are not isolated occurrences. Responsibility for this is borne by leaders at every level in ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations. Incidentally it is the ministries and departments that must rigorously adhere to the law's demands on respecting citizens' rights to choice of language.

The following question arises: Why is it prescribed that official documents in state organs of power and management should be translated into the Latvian language rather than being composed in the Latvian and Russian languages? Simply because official business is now being done quite well in the Russian language while being altogether absent in the Latvian language in many spheres. In fact, official business in organs of state power and management must be conducted in the two languages, as demanded by the principles of the law itself. After all, documents will have to be issued to citizens and contacts with them will have to be in their native language. Resolutions and decisions must also be published in both languages.

As regards internal official business at enterprises, institutions, and organizations, this is a more complex question. It is well known that the republic has a whole series of institutions, enterprises, and organizations staffed mainly by Russian-speaking collectives. The law provides that in such cases the use of Russian and other languages in documents pertaining to their activity shall be determined by the republic Council of Ministers on the basis of the law's principles and taking into account the proposals of labor collective councils. This applies especially to enterprises and organizations whose activity does not cover only Latvia's territory like, for example, the Baltic Railroad Administration and other similar organizations.

Public education is a special issue. The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium proceeded from the premise that equality of languages will be achieved through equal opportunities for all to be educated in their native language. This is why the state guarantees all categories of education in the Latvian and Russian languages, with a specific list of specialized fields to be approved by the republic Council of Ministers. But here we must be prepared for the likelihood of going to the other extreme—difficulties in mastering the state language facing young people taught in education establishments with tuition in the Russian language. In order to avoid this, the law provides for the study of the Latvian language in all education establishments in the republic regardless of their departmental subordination. Graduates of secondary, secondary specialized, and higher education establishments will also have to pass examinations in the state language. I think that this will offer a sound basis for the creation of genuine and harmonious bilingualism in our republic.

Judging by the responses received following the publication of the revised draft law, its last version satisfies the majority of the republic's population. But our main worry and concern now is how to introduce the Latvian language and ensure its free functioning in the spheres of state and social life without exacerbating interethnic relations in the republic in the process. It would be absolutely incorrect to approach the law's implementation identically in, say, Kraslava and Talsy. The law's general requirements must be uniform, but the approach to its implementation may differ. It is perfectly natural that people in Kraslava would be more worried in this regard than people anywhere else.

Comrade Vilnis Gedertovich Bresis has already reported on the measures being taken by the republic's government to ensure the law's implementation. I only wish to emphasize that we will have to implement these measures in line with the set deadlines. We proceed from the premise that 3 years is the best possible time limit for implementing the law's basic articles.

Furthermore, it is important to note that the draft resolution on the procedure for bringing the law into force assumes that, in cases of special necessity, the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium is authorized to extend the deadline for the introduction of specific provisions of the law.

One last point: Whether the Law on Languages will ease interethnic tension or not will depend largely on our multinational intelligentsia. I mean both the creative and the technical intelligentsia. As far as I am concerned, the word intellectual is associated with at least two ideas. The first is intellect. It is well known that intellect is simply unimaginable without a knowledge of languages. The second is humanism. The reason why we find it so difficult today to part company with many obsolete stereotypes, including those in the sphere of human relations, is surely the fact we are accustomed to assigning a pitifully small role in this sphere to genuine intelligence, in other words the ability to understand the soul and pain of another person and another people? When solving pressing current questions, will we always manage to bear in mind the priority of universal human values?

As far as I am concerned, for example, I perceive the embodiment of a humanist intellectual in the collective image of the Russian intelligentsia whose best features and whose genuine humanism were so finely reflected in A.P. Chekhov's creative work.

A special role today has to be played by the intelligentsia working in the mass media. I, for example, will never describe as intelligent a journalist who permits himself to indulge, be it on the air waves or in the press, in arguments like: Our misfortunes apparently stem from the fact that people of the wrong nationality work as leaders. The mass media must not fan passions by publishing extreme views on language problems but should, on the contrary, propagandize the best examples of mutual respect and desire to learn languages. I think that a proper intellectual will never let himself descend to the fanning of interethnic dissension or a scornful attitude toward another people.

We cannot overlook the fact that all our legislative initiatives, including the Law on Languages, must be geared to the future, the long-term prospects. This is why great importance attaches to the way this law will be perceived by our young people, especially those studying in Russian language education establishments. Will they treat the need to learn the Latvian language as an opportunity to acquire a deeper understanding of their republic's multifaceted life and of its cultural and historical traditions, or will negative emotions gain the upper hand? This will depend largely on the skills of teachers. I would like to hope that we will never again see cases like the ones cited by Latvian language teachers during a "roundtable" conversation, with one lecturer striving to nurture love for and interest in the Latvian language among his students during his lectures while another teacher is doing the rounds of classrooms collecting signatures against the state language. There is something else we must rule out: A Latvian school teacher cannot allow his students' interest in studying the Russian language to decline. This is why the teachers' corps, comprising a sizeable proportion of the republic's intelligentsia, will have to take on the function of implementing the new law's ideas.

Tact and patience—this is what will be especially important during the transition period. I sincerely believe that the party organizations and our intelligentsia will manage to transform the law to be adopted into an effective instrument for regularizing interethnic relations and putting and end to mutual recriminations. Recriminations and complaints must yield to mutual understanding. But mutual understanding will not develop automatically. Let us all work patiently and persistently for it, and let us begin with the good example being set by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

Lithuanian 'Yedinstvo' Council Stance 'Divisive'

PM1005171189 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 27 Apr 89 p 2

["Letter to the Editorial Office" from I.D. Kucherov, V.A. Antonov, G.A. Popov, A.I. Kukin, and S.T. Reznik, members of the Presidium of the Republic Coordinating Council of "Vienybe—Jednosc—Yedinstvo," the Socialist Movement for Restructuring in Lithuania: "We Appeal to Reason and Restraint"]

[Text] On April 23 the Vilnius City conference of "Vienybe—Jednosc—Yedinstvo," the Socialist Movement for Restructuring in Lithuania, took a decision to disband the movement's republic coordinating council, accusing it of "divisive" activity, "opportunism," and of being slow in its work to prepare a congress.

We state that we do not recognize this or the other decisions of the conference and consider them invalid. They were taken undemocratically and contrary to the opinion of the delegation from Vilnius' largest enterprises and representatives of "Yedinstvo" councils from other cities and rayons in the republic. As a mark of protest many of them left the hall.

The time has come when it is impossible to go on hiding the differences of opinion which have occurred between V. Ivanov's group from the Vilnius City council and the republic coordinating council. Constant peremptory demands to the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government, threats in the form of strikes, and the desire for the introduction in Lithuania of a special form of rule which can be changed only in extraordinary circumstances—such is the disparate range of propaganda and agitation methods used by the leaders of the city council headed by V. Ivanov.

All this is evidence of the hysteria and lack of farsightedness of the city movement's leaders, and their inability to assess the political situation correctly or to wage a consistent struggle for the democratization of society. Sheltering behind the slogan of internationalism the "Yedinstvo" "hard-liners" often take extremist and chauvinist positions, fuel unwanted passions, and show concern not for the movement's normal development but for the exaltation of their own "leaders." It is this soil which produces the appeals to "have no dealings with the Lithuanian party committees," to rescind unconditionally the decree on the use of the Lithuanian language in the republic, and so forth.

The "Yedinstvo" republic coordinating council believes that the problems of the use of the languages must be resolved exclusively by the joint efforts of the representatives of the different nations and ethnic groups by means of constructive dialogue and not by means of threats and mutual recriminations. We support the demand for a radical improvement of Lithuanian language teaching to the republic's non-Lithuanian-speaking citizens, especially young people. At the same time we insist on the enshrinement in law of a regulation governing the use of the Russian and Polish languages in Lithuania.

"Yedinstvo" must not and cannot confine itself to this single question of restructuring which, although sensitive, is not the most important. We are obliged to seek contacts and to unite with all healthy forces struggling for the republic's fuller economic, political, and cultural sovereignty within the framework of the USSR. It is necessary to oppose attempts by right-wing forces from the "league for the freedom of Lithuania," the "democrats' party," and so on to destabilize the situation in the republic, to neutralize the ideals of Lenin's democratic socialism and to illegitimately identify them with the lawlessness of the Stalin era and the distortions of the period of stagnation. It is in this struggle that "Yedinstvo's" determination and unity are needed.

The republic coordinating council urges members and supporters of "Yedinstvo" not to yield to provocative appeals which cause division and national confrontation. On the eve of the movement's founding congress on 13-14 May in Vilnius we appeal to the reason, restraint, dignity, and honor of delegates. Extremism, recklessness, and playing at "leaderism" objectively serve the purposes of restructuring's opponents. The "Yedinstvo" congress must be held in a well-organized way and produce fruitful and constructive results.

At the congress the "Yedinstvo" republic coordinating council will relinquish the powers conferred on it by the constituent assembly held in Vilnius 4 November 1988.

'Yedinstvo' Discusses Moldavian Language Laws

LD0805141589 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 25 Apr 89 p 3

[Text] There was a sanctioned meeting of the "Yedinstvo" movement on Sunday 23 April. The movement's action committee presented the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] draft language laws for discussion at the meeting which was held at the "Moldova" sports complex. According to official figures, it was attended by over 6,000 people.

Speakers stressed that they share fully the anguish and pain felt by the Moldavian people regarding the fate of their language and culture and are ready to help with all their strength to resolve these problems. But at the same time, they are resolutely opposed to all chauvinism, nationalism, and extremism. "Yes!" to national feelings and national pride and "No!" to national exclusiveness and confrontation, they said.

In their opinion, the Moldavian SSR draft language laws envisage giving the Moldavian language priority over other languages in use in the republic, whereas they should be aimed at asserting the equality of languages and their equal development, as guaranteed by the USSR Constitution. It was recognized that if, as a result of circumstance that may arise, Moldavian has to receive state language status, then Russian should have the same status as the language of communication between the nationalities. It was with deep concern that representatives of the Gagauz-Khalky popular movement who spoke at the meeting talked of the problems of preserving the native languages of peoples living in this region.

Those taking part in the meeting decided to send an open letter to the MSSR prosecutor. A resolution was adopted proposing that discussion and polishing of the draft language laws should be completed after the CPSU Central Committee plenum on relations between nationalities. Support was expressed for the aspiration of the Gagauzes and Bulgarians to set up an autonomous formation within the Moldavian SSR.

Moldavian Plenum Reviews Restructuring Processes

PM1205100989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Kishinev, 11 May—A Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held here today discussed the sociopolitical situation within the republic and party organizations' tasks to implement the directives of the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum.

S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and other speakers noted the disparate and sometimes contradictory restructuring processes within the republic. On the one hand, positive trends toward renewal are increasingly penetrating the economy and the political and cultural spheres. On the other, the rapid upsurge in people's social activeness is accompanied by a worsening tension in the country's political life and in the sphere of interethnic relations. This was manifested most graphically during the preparations for and actual elections of USSR people's deputies and the elaboration and discussion of the draft laws on nationalities and language policy in Moldavia.

The plenum noted that the republic's party organizations were unprepared for this turn in democratic processes. The Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat underestimated the social movement's dynamics and alignment of forces and did not display the requisite consistency and persistence in fulfilling previous decisions. Under conditions of the deteriorating political situation in the republic certain party and soviet organs and public organizations were unable to keep pace with, let alone predict and anticipate events, and lost the initiative.

The plenum unanimously advocated the consolidation of all social forces on the principles expounded in the 19th All-Union Party Conference decisions and other all-party documents and resolutely condemned and opposed all extremism and the kindling of emotions for ethnic reasons. Party committees and communists were set specific tasks to improve the social and psychological atmosphere within the republic.

Belorussian Language Course Starts on Local TV

PM0805123889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent A. Ulitenok: "'Let's Speak Belorussian'"]

[Text] Minsk, 3 May—Republican television has started a new "Let's Speak Belorussian" series.

It is intended both for people who have come to Belorussia from afar and for Belorussians who, for very reasons, have not had sufficient practice in the language. The course was devised by A. Klyshka, author of the current Belorussian primer. The appearance of special selections of items or even entire pages in Belorussian in Russian-language newspapers: the republican SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA and ZNAMYA YUNOSTI, the plant in-house AVTOZAVODETS, and many others is another sign of the times.

Students Call for Outlet for Political Expression

18000991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 89 p 2

[Report by K. Belyaninov]

[Text] **"Demonstration—...declaration, public disclosure of their desires by a people, a class, or a union...." (V.I. Dal. Dictionary of Living Belorussian Language).**

Almost According to Protocol

On 1 December 1988 at 0840 Police Sergeant N.I. Zubkov discovered a legal violation. Near an underpass in the region of building No 1 on Ulitsa Razina three young people were stopping passersby and asking them a stereotypical question:

"Excuse me, are you a deputy of the Supreme Soviet?"

If they received an affirmative answer they tried to hand the deputy, who was hurrying to a session, proposals concerning changes and additions to the USSR Constitution which had been brought up at that time for general discussion.

About 10 minutes later Zubkov learned that the behavior of the young people could be interpreted as an unsanctioned demonstration. He reported this to his superiors.

Police Senior Sergeant Golubkov A. N. arrived at the scene of the incident a couple of minutes later and immediately gave an order for immediate arrest.

In the nearest internal affairs division the students were identified as VUZ [higher educational institution] students Ya. Shpunt, A. Babushkin, and Ye. Ostrovskiy. All copies of the petitions were taken from them. Because of the crucial shortage of time it was not possible to take depositions from them.

Three hours later the officer on duty at the station compiled a report which asserted that the people who had been arrested, having "organized an unsanctioned meeting, gathered a crowd around them which impeded the passage of the citizens and shouted slogans calling for participation in the unsanctioned demonstration."

In spite of the refusal of A. Babushkin and Ye. Ostrovskiy to sign the report, all three were taken to the people's court of Leninskiy Rayon in Moscow.

An hour later the judge, V. Pivovarov, sentenced Ya. Shpunt to pay a fine of R500 and postponed the consideration of the cases of A. Babushkin and Ye. Ostrovskiy, as the defendants insisted on having a lawyer.

The Court

"When will all this end?" complained Yefim Ostrovskiy, making his way for the fourth time through the twisting corridors of the Leninskiy people's court. "The trial has been postponed three times already. First the lawyer did not get a chance to prepare, and then the policemen did not show up...."

To be honest, Yefim was already tired of explaining that his group had made a decision not to participate in illegal measures. For a long time they had been conducting only permitted meetings. Just before the session of the Supreme Soviet he had gone to the Mosgorispolkom [Moscow city executive committee], and there someone in authority told them that it was permitted to hand out their suggestions and arrange pickets. They said that the main thing was that there be no crowd.

Therefore they prepared an "informed group." Nobody drew up any special proposals: Most of them were from the resolution of the MGU [Moscow State University] komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] conference, and the rest had been published in the central newspapers. Everything was within the law...

"They," Sergeant Zubkov told the judge, "forced their leaflets on people."

"They were all shouting in unison: 'Take a leaflet, take a leaflet!'" Golubkov supported his comrade, "and they did not have permission."

The lawyer decided not to go into the definition of a "leaflet." Not only because there were no records of detention and confiscation of the appeals. Not because the sergeants ignored the primary requirements of the administrative code by not asking the students for documents.

"There is no clear determination of a legal violation," he said, "either in the reports or in the explanations in court. The policemen understood only that there is an ukase about meetings, and decided that it is necessary to impose punishment for everything that even remotely resembles a meeting...."

Sergeant Zubkov did not wait for the court's decision. He left, slamming the door. But Ostrovskiy remained; for this concerned him, not the sergeant!

Personal Opinion

...The citizens are accustomed to jumping over mud puddles in the street, and all of them without exception were hurrying past. But a solid-looking passerby in response to the simplest question: "Have you read the law on changes and additions to the Constitution?" declared that he had not read anything and did not intend to. It was not up to him to make any decisions.

Within about 15 minutes I found out that it is not acceptable to express oneself on the street, and in general "everything had been written about in the newspapers." But I was unable to find out how people on the most ordinary Moscow street feel about the questions. The nearest policeman on duty advised me to move my strange experiments to somewhere farther away from his work section.

"There are special halls and institutions for discussions," he declared, "and the streets are for walking."

It was difficult to refute the opinion of the junior sergeant. Despite the fact that almost 4 years ago it was officially announced: Everyone may express his views. Even on the street.

"It is too soon," said the judge of the Leninskiy Rayon court concerning this, "and premature to speak about a practice that has spread everywhere. Nobody has any idea about what decisions should be made regarding cases like Ostrovskiy's."

Even the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Justice confirmed that nobody is insured against making mistakes in judgment. For the time being, of course, until the courts have a chance to consider more cases of this kind, and the management levels generalize the experience that has been accumulated and give their interpretations.

"A new law," explained the lawyer D. Burshteyn, "requires practical verification. Especially the ukase on meetings. For it lacks the main thing—precision of formulation."

So the Ostrovskiy case for the time being remains within the framework of domestic jurisprudence. Yefim did not violate the law, and the policemen...did not violate it either. Two representatives of the same judicial instance, having examined the same case and having heard the same evidence, can quite possibly come to directly opposing decisions: both to convict and to exonerate. A step to the right, a step to the left—there is no difference.

To my mind this is not a matter of the broadest kind of pluralism that has extended even to court decisions. It is possible to construct a magnificent edifice of juridical law; it is possible to clarify and verify all wordings of laws and, finally, embody the most popular words about "the creation of an efficient legal mechanism." The laws can be adopted after nationwide discussion. And no other way. But why, when speaking about these truly important phenomena of our life, do we forget about the people who have to execute them? About the people who have to implement and use these laws in practice?

...Representatives of a Samizdat magazine were conducting a public opinion poll and, going around to apartments, asked: "Do you know your rights?" The residents called the police...

...Students of the Siberian Highway Institute boycotted classes in a military department. After a meeting they set forth their demands for reorganization of their training. The chief of the institute's military department took them to court...

We have been talking a great deal and for a long time about the need for free discussion. And about the truth that is generated only in debate. But as soon as it becomes possible to express our views openly we move aside. Or we call the police, complaining about public order and equally public peace...

"Look for yourself," Yefim took out of his bag a newspaper clipping with the text of the ukase on meetings, "everything we did was within the limits of the law. We went out because there was no other way of presenting our proposals. The conference at MGU included some of them in its resolution, but who gave a guarantee that our opinion would be heard?

A half year ago the Moscow city internal affairs administration requested that the Moscow gorispolkom find a location for a domestic Hyde Park—a unique site for "independent opinion." So far there has been no response. At least their is no park. And public meetings, which can reveal our most critical problems, as was the case in Nizhniy Tagil, Moskovskiy microrayon in Brateyevo, and a dozen other places, disintegrate into meetings for the right to hold meetings.

Incidentally, it would be simple to assign any square or boulevard in the center of Moscow for our Hyde Park. This would change absolutely nothing in the "smooth-running" city economy. It is much more difficult to create a really effective mechanism for expression of public and purely personal opinion. To begin with we need a mechanism for obtaining a concrete answer to the question you raised.

"You know," said Yefim, "I do not want to talk about everything all at once, but in my opinion it would be possible to solve the problem of student demonstrations in precisely this way. If one of the USSR people's deputies, say, in the group of deputies from the komsomol were given the right to represent students at the congress and could introduce issues that are being raise by the VUZ's. Incidentally, if his telephone number and the address of his deputy office were known in each institute, there would be absolutely no need to go out onto the streets. ("Evrika" note: Perhaps this idea should be discussed in an all-union student forum?)

Epilogue

The people's court of Leninskiy Rayon closed the administrative case of Yefim Ostrovskiy and Andrey Babushkin "because of the absence of a legal violation."

Right in the court room Yefim took out of his bag a thick volume of the Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary and showed me just one entry.

"Demonstration—...procession, meeting, and other forms of mass expression of public attitudes...."

Georgian Youths End Sit-In; 'Most' Demands Met

NC1605071089 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] As already reported, the sit-in that had been going on for many days near the Georgian state drama theater named after [name indistinct] by representatives of Georgian youth, who had the support of representatives from a number of labor collectives in Abkhazia and other parts of Georgia, ended yesterday evening. The government of the republic and the Abkhazia leaders did everything possible to satisfy most of the strikers' 24 demands. It should be pointed out that these demands had been submitted in accordance with (?articles) of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution. The solution to the question of the separation of the Georgian sector of Sukhumi State University was met with particular satisfaction. A branch of the Tbilisi State University that has been given the name of the outstanding Georgian scientist [name indistinct] will operate in Sukhumi as of (?July). The normal tempo of life has been restored in Sukhumi since this morning.

Georgian Children Affected by Gas Poisoning

18300581 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 27 Apr 89 p 3

[Report by Ketevan Amiredzhibi: "The Same Symptoms"]

[Text] **26 April—By 11 am 70 more children's parents brought them to the children's hospital where they were examined since they had unusual symptoms—weakness, dizziness, complaints of headaches, skin rashes, etc.**

"There is no doubt that all these same symptoms appeared in children as a result of the effects of toxic substances," says the hospital's head physician T. Bakradze. "I am convinced of this by the results of research conducted by specialists of the chemical-toxicological subcommission headed by M. Zaalishvili, academician of the Georgian Academy of Sciences."

The doctors say that on 20 April the hospital was visited by a woman who resides in the city on Dzneladze Street, the mother of two children, a 4-year-old boy and an 8-month-old baby, who, as the medical examination showed, had signs of chemical poisoning.

In the mother's words, when the tragedy took place the whole family was at home. The windows of the apartment were left open. The adults were not sleeping. Suddenly shouts were heard. They were coming closer. From the window they could see clearly how people were running. The doors flew open. "In here right away, into the house!" And a couple of minutes later everyone in the house including the people who lived there heard a sound they could not recognize, as though something nearby had blown apart.

The room was filled with gas. There was a strange smell, and people began to gasp for air. The dizziness, headaches, and weakness began on the same day. The children developed a rash, their eyes teared up, and they began to cough. They did not go to the doctor immediately, thinking it would pass. But it did not pass. On the contrary, the condition began to get worse, especially in the children and most of all the babies.

"Now the children are much worse," reports the chief of the administration for maternity and childhood, E. Dzhanelidze, an honored physician of the republic.

On 21 April ambulances rushed to the 1st Tbilisi secondary school. As it turned out, 12 6th-graders, most of them girls, while in the labor training laboratory began to feel indisposed—dryness of the mouth and dizziness. There were no clear signs of poisoning, but still it was decided to examine all the children thoroughly. This examination showed that the school children had been poisoned with some kind of gas. The poisoning manifested itself in various ways but the indicators, as the physicians note, were all the same. They express the opinion that it cannot be ruled out that the toxic substance affected the central nervous system. The children were very sluggish and apathetic toward everything around them. The doctors also reported this information: The children who came to the hospital were from the 1st school and attended classes in rooms where the windows opened out onto the street of the Government House.

Working in the hospital as consultants is a group of experienced specialists which includes Doctor of Medical Sciences K. Edigarashvili, the republic's head pediatric neuropathologist; Candidate of Medical Sciences I. Palavandishvili; chief of the pediatrics department at the Institute for Advancement of Physicians; Allergist M. Gengiuri, and others. Immediately after a visual examination they did in-depth examinations including encephalograms and cardiograms. They tested the blood, and so forth. Depending on the indications the children were either hospitalized or given out-patient treatment. They were given the classical medical treatment—detoxification and treatment of the symptoms, and vitamins were prescribed along with large quantities of liquids and means for generally strengthening the body.

"The prognosis is hopeful," thinks T. Bakradze. "The condition of our young patients has already improved and is approaching the norm. But still one is inclined to think that things would have gone so much faster if the medical experts had promptly been given detailed information about the toxic substances that had been used. But representatives of the forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs are in no hurry to provide it. In this connection I, as well as all of our collective, fully support the statement of the public medical expert commission made on behalf of the USSR Procurator General.

Presidium of Russian Council of Ministers Meets

18000832 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Apr 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers"]

[Text] At its regular session, the Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers examined certain matters of the work of the republic's soviet and economic organizations connected with the USSR People's Deputies election results.

It was pointed out that the election campaign convincingly proved the workers' active support of the party's political line for restructuring, democracy, and the fundamental renewal of society.

At the very same time, in the course of preparing for and conducting the elections, serious shortcomings appeared in the work of many soviet and economic organs on solving socioeconomic problems, improving the popular welfare, and satisfying the needs and wants of the populace.

RSFSR ministries and departments, autonomous republic councils of ministers, and the executive committees [ispolkoms] of local soviets of people's deputies have been instructed to work out practical measures to increase the level of organizational work for carrying out the decisions of the party and government aimed at solving the food and housing programs; improving trade, medical, and transport services; expanding the services sphere; and increasing attention toward the people.

While examining the issue of the cash plan, the work of RSFSR ministries and departments and local soviet and economic organs was subjected to severe criticism with respect to assuring a state of balance between the public's monetary income and expenditures. It was noted that the ministries and departments are underestimating the severity of the extremely unsatisfactory situation which has developed in the production and delivery to trade of foodstuffs and manufactured goods; and that they are not taking measures to increase control over monetary outlays for paying wages, the result of which is that the public's monetary income continues to grow at a rate which exceeds its expenditures.

An especially unfavorable situation has taken shape in Chechen-Ingush, Yakut and Chuvash Autonomous Republics; in Krasnoyarsk, Krasnodar, and Maritime Krays; and in Gorkiy, Kemerovo, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Perm, Tyumen, and certain other oblasts.

The Bashkir, North Osetian, Tatar, and Yakutsk Autonomous Republic councils of ministers; Altay and Krasnoyarsk Kray ispolkoms; and Bryansk, Kemerovo, Kurgan, Kuybyshev, Omsk, Penza, and a number of other oblast ispolkoms—have experienced major failures in carrying out their cash plans for the first quarter of this year.

The Presidium, deeming such a situation unacceptable, demanded of the RSFSR ministries and departments, autonomous republic councils of ministers, kray and oblast ispolkoms, that they take exhaustive measures to overcome the situation which has come to pass, and to normalize monetary circulation. They have been instructed to carefully analyze the rate of fulfillment of tasks for production and supply of consumer goods, and for retail goods turnover and services to the populace—and to take measures to increase their volume. Every enterprise, association, and organization is to delve into the causes for the radical increase in wages in comparison with the increase in labor productivity; to energize work on creating cooperatives employed at production of consumer goods and rendering services to the populace; and to guarantee unconditional fulfillment of retail trade turnover volume and the cash plan.

Autonomous republic councils of ministers and kray and oblast ispolkoms have been instructed to increase organizational work on carrying out the cash plan, and to ensure continuous monitoring of the state of monetary circulation in their respective territories.

The matter of increasing the role of branch scientific-research organizations was examined with respect to accelerating scientific-technical progress under conditions of the new economic mechanism. It was pointed out that in spite of certain positive changes in the work of the republic's branch scientific organizations with respect to transition to complete economic accountability and self-financing—their activity does not yet provide for solution of the principal task of raising the technical level of production and the quality of manufactured products. Principally new possibilities for improving the work of the scientific organizations and for providing fundamental restructuring of the management of the economy are not being completely utilized.

RSFSR ministries and departments are doing a poor job at focusing top priority attention of branch scientific organizations on solving the problems which are definitive for raising the scientific-technical level of the branches of the national economy in the republic. Concentrating a significant portion of the assets of subordinate enterprises at their own place, they continue to direct appropriations toward maintaining scientific organizations without considering the effectiveness of their activities. While receiving significant sums from centralized funds, scientific organizations are not taking proper responsibility for the state of scientific-technical progress in their branches. Many institutions and planning and design bureaus, taking advantage of their monopoly position in the branches and the lack of proper control on the part of clients, ministries, and departments in the RSFSR, have taken the course of unjustified price increases for the work they perform, without improving the quality and the scientific-technical level—thereby receiving unjustifiably high revenues. Competitive selection of executors for solving major scientific-technical problems and extensive recruitment of academy and higher educational institution [VUZ] scholarship for those purposes, are for all practical purposes not being used. Integration of science and manufacturing for the purpose of creating conditions for transition from supplying the clients with technical and design documentation, to selling them scientific-technical production directly in the form of new high-technology items, equipment, and materials are not being accomplished at sufficiently-high rates.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium has declared that RSFSR ministries and departments must take exhaustive measures to eliminate existing shortcomings, and to ensure that all the capabilities inherent in the new economic mechanism are put into operation. RSFSR State Planning Committee and other central economic organs of the republic are instructed to make further improvements in the economic mechanism of scientific-technical progress, and to create an integrated system in the RSFSR for forecasting, planning, and controlling it. Special attention was devoted to the necessity for regulating the practice of utilizing contracted prices for scientific-technical production, and to increase their interaction with the level of competitiveness and economic effectiveness of the scientific developments. And, instructions have been given to examine the problem of controlling the scientific-research institutes, whose activity does not meet modern requirements and the conditions of the new economic mechanism.

Other matters of the republic's economic and social development were examined as well.

Plight of Russian Minorities Described

PM1105113189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Article by Z. Uraksin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Urals Branch Bashkir Scientific Center Institute of History, Language, and Literature, under "Our Dialogue" rubric: "How Different the Territories of My Tribe"]

[Text] Our USSR Academy of Sciences Urals Branch Bashkir Scientific Center History, Language, and Literature Institute recently held a "roundtable" devoted to interethnic relations in the Volga and Ural regions. The discussion was interesting and frank. I do not aim to relate it; I only want to share the thoughts that it evoked.

Our region is unique. Within the Russian Federation, within this vast and unique alliance of peoples, rich in languages and ethnic diversity and its national-state structure, the Volga and Ural region is a zone with most concentrated ethnic multiplicity. The peoples of this area also share another characteristic feature: They were all the first to obtain political self-determination and an opportunity for national development and fruitful cooperation within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. They turned from former backward regions into equal, well-developed, autonomous formations within the family of Russia's peoples.

But we are not only noting the achievements today. The distortions of Lenin's nationalities policy that were permitted did not bypass this region either. Here, perhaps, these distortions were particularly far-reaching. The "roundtable" participants said that some peoples (especially the Mordvinians and the Udmurts) began to be rapidly assimilated, lost their languages and cultures, and declined in numbers. Others living outside their autonomous formations began to increasingly lose the opportunity to satisfy their own national-cultural needs within their oblasts. There was ultimately a danger of their losing their national originality. This was compounded by uneven industrial, economic, and social development of autonomous republics and oblasts.

However, that is no new discovery. We are, as the saying goes, today disentangling matters of interethnic relations throughout the country that have been neglected for decades. Only we must not dramatize the situation, exaggerate the omissions, or paint a totally black picture. Just as we must not underestimate the gravity of the problems or smooth over the controversies. The "roundtable" confirmed that people who have begun to complain about one people on behalf of another and begun to copy by no means complete and sometimes extremely dubious models and programs that have cropped up in certain union republics, and who try to solve one people's urgent problems at the expense of another, have surfaced in the Volga-Ural area on the wave of openness of opinions and views. You get the impression that activists from certain public centers are trying to ensure at all costs that they "equal" the loudest nationalist movements for pretentiousness.

Raising the real problems of evening out the socioeconomic position of the region's peoples and the level of their cultural development, people began to see a way out of the situation in transforming autonomous republics, above all the Tatar and Bashkir autonomous republics, into union republics. Moreover it was not only the leaders of informal associations and clubs, but even serious scientific personnel who made these suggestions. Yet there are many factors indicating the unfeasibility of implementing such proposals. Is it not be better to study more attentively the issue of changing the autonomous republics' legal status and effectively evening out the socioeconomic position of all the peoples?

Be that as it may, scientists who took part in the exchange of opinions noted that it is now more important to determine—rather than creating artificially—the real problems, take stock of reality, and promote positive programs and proposals correlated with the interests of all the peoples in a particular republic or oblast. For instance, one of our immediate tasks still consists in further improving the social structure of autonomous republics' populations from the ethnic viewpoint. People may ask me what that means. It means that some peoples in an autonomous region are still primarily a "peasant," "rural" nation. For instance, the Bashkirs, the Mari, and the Udmurts. So far it is only the scientists who have noted the dismal statistics and lack of development of a working class (and, correspondingly, of a technical intelligentsia) among the aforementioned nations. But governments and planning organs, like oblast party committees [obkoms] at present lack a well- thought-out program for siting production facilities and deliberately shaping worker professions involving people from indigenous nations via the vocational and technical education system and the targeted recruitment and distribution of students within the republics. Central departments that dictate terms to local authorities for siting production forces are especially remote from these "niceties." I can talk more specifically about my native Bashkiria. The areas beyond the Urals, where the indigenous population is concentrated, have proved the most economically and socially backward regions, deplorable as that may be in an autonomous republic which was the first to receive a national state system within the RSFSR. The absence of a processing and light industry and the underdevelopment of highways, amenities, and a construction industry particularly take their toll here. For that reason the population, above all the young people, are rapidly leaving here for the neighboring Orenburg and Chelyabinsk Oblasts. Admittedly, Bashkiria's incumbent party leadership has drawn attention to the backwardness of this area of the republic. It will take a considerable amount of time, effort, and money to really rectify the situation. We must make a start on that. Otherwise an unnatural picture could take shape, because it is mainly the indigenous population that is migrating outside the autonomous republic.

I would like to talk about another problem. New dimensions to interethnic relations have emerged in the Volga and Ural republics and oblasts. Compact groups of up to 10-12 different peoples live in each of them. Moreover, the indigenous nationality for which the republics are named amounts in some cases to less than one-half or one-fourth of the entire population in the autonomous formation. Each of the autonomous republics is the sole political and juridical guarantor safeguarding and fully guaranteeing the people's national interests. We cannot fail to agree with that. That is why the most important factor in regulating interethnic relations is to ensure the reasonable combination of the interests of the autonomous republic's indigenous people and the representatives of the other peoples living there. However, science has not in effect worked out this problem; it is being resolved practically in different ways depending on the maturity of local party and soviet leaders.

During the period of restructuring in interethnic relations we need to do our utmost to avoid taking steps that may alienate people, and we must seek constructive approaches. When seeking a way out of the problems that have accumulated we can even take a more attentive look at the initial experience of national-state determination acquired by Russia's peoples. At one time during the twenties, for instance, national okrugs, national rayons, and even rural soviets existed and played a progressive role in RSFSR oblasts. There was no isolation and self-limitation here. On the other hand these "mini-autonomous units" enabled the interests of varying peoples and ethnic groups, right down to the smallest, to be considered and observed more fully.

"How different are the tribes of my land, how varied their language and dress...." Mayakovskiy wrote, struck as it were by the multicolored national range of our great motherland. A real internationalist has always acted and still does act on the premise of respect for any language and for anyone's customs and traditions. Reducing languages and culture to one level, under whatever revolutionary slogans, constitutes national hegemonism. In this connection the "roundtable" participants could not conceal their concern at the fact that the problem of preserving and developing the languages of the Volga and Ural regions has become particularly acute today. The great work of linguistic building accomplished during the twenties and thirties has effectively been cut short over the last 40 years. Legislative acts governing native languages have ceased to function. The linguistic situation in the region has changed radically in comparison with the twenties, when Russian was learned via the native language and bilingualism was developed without detriment to the national culture. We now have to talk about reviving native languages—via Russian.

What is to be done? Some people have tried to seek salvation by proclaiming their languages to be state languages, thus provoking misgivings and suspicion in other peoples. But we must not count solely on languages' innate mechanism for self-protection, because that has been sapped over the years by unquestioning belief in proclamations and slogans and blind expectation of better things to come. In our opinion, a state system regulating the development of peoples' culture and languages and ensuring their preservation and interaction under natural conditions is essential in the current situation.

The participants in the "roundtable" shared the opinion that ways to rapprochement and unity must be found and that national relations must be subordinated to the interests of restructuring. In my opinion, the following correct idea was voiced: Science's voice of authority should foster ideas of friendship in people and sow the seeds of internationalism. Between the Volga and the Urals not only are there enough scientific signs but also enough effective scientific forces to really influence the improvement and strengthening of the interethnic climate.

Ligachev Hears Uzbek Farmers' Complaints

PM1505143589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Aral: Tasks Which Brook No Delay"]

[Text] Soviet people are concerned about the problem of the Aral Sea. An ecological catastrophe has set in as a result of excessive and sometimes thoughtless use of water from the Central Asian Amudarya and Syrdarya rivers, which until recently were supplying enough water to the Aral Sea. The sea is dying. Its level has dropped by 13 meters in recent years and its area has decreased by more than one-third. In this way a major ecological system in Central Asia has been disrupted.

In September 1988 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution "On Measures To Radically Improve the Ecological and Sanitary Situation in the Aral Sea Region and To Enhance the Effectiveness of the Utilization of Water and Land Resources in Its Basin and Increase Their Protection." How is its implementation progressing?

Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has visited the Aral region. Together with the leaders of Uzbekistan, Karakalpakia, and certain central ministries and departments he flew over the sea that is drying out and acquainted himself with the progress of construction and water conservancy work to restore the disrupted natural balance. Meetings and talks with leaders of local party, soviet, and economic organs and inhabitants of the coastal Muynakskiy Rayon were held. First-hand acquaintance with the area revealed once again the gravity of the damage caused to the ecology and life of this region and its people.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution defines large-scale, long-term tasks to save the Aral, as well as measures which have to be taken right now and cannot be delayed by even a day. This applies to improving the living and environmental conditions of the population in the Aral region. People living here suffer from dust and salt storms, a shortage and poor quality of drinking water, and the absence of appropriate hygiene. The opportunities for their economic activity are limited. In short, the natural catastrophe has seriously disrupted the life of the indigenous population.

In Ye.K. Ligachev's presence, reports were heard from party and soviet organ and union and republic ministry and department leaders on progress in tackling the social tasks of the Aral region as envisaged in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution.

The most urgent task is to provide people with drinking water. P.A. Polad-zade, USSR first deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources, and M.A. Sarsenov, chief of the "Aralvodstroy" association, reported on this matter. "Aralvodstroy," a specialized construction organization set up recently in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution, will assimilate R8 million of capital investments this year. Next year the volume of work will increase to R45-R50 million. This is not a bad pace, but it is insufficient. It is necessary to channel bigger resources into Karakalpakia and to seek to commission water conservancy installations at a preferential rate and ahead of schedule, because water here literally means life. At the same time more vigorous efforts must be made to provide rural population centers with a communal sewage system.

K.S. Salykov, first secretary of the Karakalpak Oblast Party Committee, noted that, while until quite recently people were quitting coastal villages and fishermen's settlements, they are now beginning to return home following the adoption of the resolution on the revival of the Aral and the water conservancy work that is getting under way. The task is not to betray their hopes and to work vigorously to improve living conditions here.

We must not delay or try to pass the buck, R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, said in this context. Today it is above all necessary to ensure that everyone implements as much as possible of what we have planned, and that responsibility for the work carried out is enhanced.

The matter of radically improving the utilization of the water from the Amudarya and the Syrdarya for agricultural needs, especially irrigation, was sharply raised. It was noted that this could be considerably facilitated by making collective and state farms [kolkhozes and sovkhozes] pay for the water they use. The establishment of rational water utilization, F.T. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation, said, is a means not just to improve social and living conditions but also to enhance the efficiency of agricultural production and develop personal plots and horticulture and vegetable growing. In the final analysis this would be reflected in the supply of food products to the local population, and it would favorably affect the living standards of the inhabitants of the Aral region.

Another vital task is to improve medical services to the population and extend the prevention of diseases caused by the disruption of the ecological environment. Uzbek health care establishments have organized mass screening of inhabitants in Karakalpakia and Khorezm Oblast. However, this is an interrepublican problem and it requires the full involvement of the Union Ministry of Health which, as is known, is instructed to this effect in the adopted resolution, V.P. Anishchev, second secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and leader of a deputies' group on the Aral, has noted.

There are many tasks and they are all big. Joint efforts are needed to develop the material and technical base of the construction industry for both production and social installations—housing, schools, hospital, stores, and public catering. Conditions to stimulate individual housing construction funded by the population must also be created.

The role of science in the solution of the problems which have arisen in Central Asia in connection with the ecological crisis is undoubtedly great. Meanwhile the USSR Academy of Sciences and the V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences [VASKHNIL] are slow in getting research connected with the Aral off the ground. N.P. Laverov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, gave assurances that vigorous action will be taken to hasten this work. Writer T. Kaipbergenov made an emotional appeal in defense of the interests of the people and the environment of the Aral region.

Concern is rapidly mounting in society about the state of nature and especially the state of the water resources, Ye.K. Ligachev said summing up. The Aral has fallen victim to a crude violation of the laws of nature. The claim was that it was all being done for the sake of cotton, and cotton, after all, is for people. However, it all turned against nature and people. People are suffering deprivation.

There is only one way out: to ensure the unconditional implementation of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution. The Aral problem can only be resolved by a package of measures and the joint efforts of both local and a number of central organs. Priority must now be given to social tasks. People must be able to feel in the very near future that their living conditions are improving. The main concern is to provide them with good quality water. The construction of housing and the provision of health care must be constantly kept within the field of view of both local and republic and union organs. It is necessary to vigorously expand the construction industry base and establish contract teams to substantially increase construction work within the next few years.

Ye.K. Ligachev also noted that in hastening scientific research related to the Aral, it would be expedient to attract talented scientists to the region and to rally local forces around them. It is necessary to ensure that all work is of an up-to-date scientific standard and that state and public monitoring of the implementation of the

CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution is stepped up. Major projects must be submitted for discussion by scientists, specialists, and the population.

The rehabilitation and revival of the Aral ecological system is a great responsibility to the country and the whole world.

Taking part in the discussion of problems were I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agricultural Department; M.I. Ibragimov, chairman of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet; Yu.A. Israel, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, and ministry and department leaders and specialists.

During his 9-13 May stay in the Uzbek SSR, Ye.K. Ligachev visited a number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Tashkent and Surkhandarya Oblasts, and also the "Soyuzkhlopok" science-and-production association and the Academy of Agricultural Sciences Central Asian branch R.R. Shreder horticulture and viticulture science-and-production association. Discussions were held with kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers, agricultural specialists, scientists, and party workers on progress in implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum on matters of the party's current agrarian policy, restructuring production relations in the countryside, and enhancing the role of agrarian science.

It was noted that making use of the favorable economic conditions now creating and developing the peasants' initiative and the spirit of socialist enterprise on the farms, it is necessary to exploit more fully the rich natural and material-technical potential of Uzbekistan's agro-industrial complex, to seek to enhance the productivity of fields, orchards, and livestock units, and to increase the republic population's per capita consumption of meat and dairy products, fruit, and vegetables. This is to be promoted by the active development of leasing relations, cooperatives, personal plots, plant collectives' agricultural units, and the establishment of direct relations between industrial enterprises and kolkhozes and sovkhozes on a mutually- advantageous and economically-accountable basis.

Turning to the CPSU Central Committee secretary, some inhabitants expressed dissatisfaction because they are still unable to obtain subsidiary, orchard, or vegetable plots and are encountering other difficulties which are thwarting their desire to grow agricultural products. Local organ leaders were censured for sluggishness in implementing the decisions adopted nationally. It is necessary to remove all obstacles, no matter how difficult this may be, and to make it possible to hand over land to citizens for horticulture and vegetable growing purposes.

A discusson was held together with the leadership of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers on problems pertaining to the elimination of the consequences of the natural disaster in the agrarian sector caused by the unexpected cold weather and snowfalls in late April and early May.

A visit was paid to the Khayrabad railroad station where, together with the leaders of the Ministry of Railways and the Central Asian Railroad, the possibility of accelerating deliveries of fruit and vegetables to Moscow and other cities in the country, and also of enhancing railroad workers' responsibility and incentives for ensuring that the state in which products reach the consumer is one of high quality were considered.

Ye.K. Ligachev visited food stores, where lively discussions with customers and city inhabitants took place.

A conversation with members of the republic Communist Party Central Committee Bureau was also held.

Ye.K. Ligachev was accompanied on his tour by R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; M.I. Ibragimov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet; and G.Kh. Kadyrov, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers.

Tajik Party Discusses Draft Language Law

PM1005153089 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 30 Apr 89 p 1

[TADZHIKTA report: "Language: Tact, Restraint, and Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] Resolving the problem of the status of language is a sovereign right of the people who give the republic its name. However, this demands a sober, thoughtful approach. This thought was expressed several times during the meeting of a group of representatives of the non-Tajik-speaking population which took place at the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee on 25 April. People of various nationalities and professions who have lived all or most of their lives in our republic took part in the meeting. They have an excellent command of the Tajik language, know the local traditions and customs, and do not distance themselves from the indigenous population, their needs and concerns, or the problems facing the republic.

At the meeting there was a frank exchange of opinions about the course of the discussion that has begun on the draft Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Law on Language. It was noted that the publication of the draft Law on Language had a widespread effect. However a certain distortion can be observed in the nature of the discussion. The majority of the critical observations, proposals, and amendments are being put forward by representatives of the indigenous nationality, while the non-Tajik-speaking population has taken up a less active position, meaning that a full discussion cannot be carried out. This in particular is noticeable in reports in the mass media.

The participants in the meeting expressed the opinion that many problems could have been avoided if the situation in the educational sphere was not in such a neglected state. Also, passing a Law on Language will not solve any problems in itself. It is necessary to eliminate the very possibility of any restriction on the natural right of a person of any nationality to use their native language, regardless of whether or not it has been awarded the status of state language.

In this connection, the participants in the meeting expressed their misgivings regarding possible distortions in the interpretation of certain articles of the law. Examples were cited of specific conflicts that have occurred because of biased interpretations. Language restriction sometimes causes critical situations in the spheres of trade, services, and transport. It sometimes happens that people who speak different languages deliberately try to aggravate such conflicts. Cases are also known where speakers were forbidden to speak in their chosen language at meetings and conferences.

After the draft law has been discussed, it must not be implemented right away, without further thought. Unfortunately some of those who declare themselves in favor of passing the new Law on Language, and particularly representatives of the intelligentsia, show the greatest impatience and demand an immediate and universal switch to the state language. Moreover, not only national peculiarities, but also the economic, social, educational, and other peculiarities characteristic of various regions and specific individuals are not taken into consideration.

The participants in the meeting were unanimous that there is a danger that unnecessary passions may be ignited in national and ethnic relations on the pretext of alleged anxiety over the development of language. Such events can be used by certain people who try to divert attention from their unsavory activities. There is a very precise criterion for checking the authenticity of an outlook, and that is selfless devotion. He who is ready to help with the revival of the role and force of the native language with deeds rather than words, is a real patriot.

The problem of developing the languages of the nations and ethnic groups living in a republic is equally a problem of interethnic communication. The participants of the meeting were unanimous in this. Here the ethos of both ethnic and elementary social communication comes to the fore. Unfortunately, this is far from being up to the appropriate level. Not all of us have enough tact, restraint, or mutual understanding in our daily life, whatever nation or ethnic group we belong to. In developing the ethos of interethnic communication, the role of party and soviet organs, social organizations, labor collectives, and the mass media must be increased.

A.D. Dadabayev, secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the discussion.

Muslims Demonstrate in Dagestan for Mufti's Ouster

AU1505203689 Paris AFP in English 2018 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 15 (AFP)—Some 500 Moslems demonstrated in the Dagestan autonomous republic Monday calling for a second mosque, the replacement of two muftis (Islamic jurists) and the right to print texts in Arabic, Soviet human rights activist Valeriy Senderov said.

Mr. Senderov told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that the local government leader in the Dagestan capital, Makhachkala, had met demonstrators and promised to reply on a possible site for a second mosque within three days.

The leader, named only as Mr. Mirzabekov [name as received], also promised to refer the mufti demand to the state committee for religion, but unsatisfied demonstrators asked to be allowed to choose their own law interpreters, Mr. Senderov added.

They wanted to oust the mufti of the Islamic spiritual directorate of the northern Caucasus—one of four such directorates in the Soviet Union—as well as the local mufti. Dagestan is a mountainous republic east of Georgia and north of Azerbaijan, bordering on the Caspian Sea.

Until World War II, Arabic was the main language of the numerous mountain peoples of Dagestan, which was made an autonomous republic in 1921.

Three months ago, Moslem demonstrators in Tashkent won the removal of a mufti who inherited the post from his father, who interpreted Islamic law there in Stalin's day. He represented the spiritual directorate for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the biggest of the four.

Health Specialists on Chernovtsy Children's Illness

18000923 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview in Chernovtsy with B. Sangster and G. de Groot, toxicology specialists from the National Institute of Public Health and Environmental Protection, by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Gayazov; date not given; first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] **An unknown disease that in November of last year led to illness and loss of hair of dozens of children in Chernovtsy is making us rack our brains again: What happened then?**

At the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Health, a couple of days ago independent experts sent by the World Health Organization visited Chernovtsy. These eminent toxicologists, B. Sangster and G. de Groot, represent the National Institute of Health and Environmental Protection (Holland). They had a conversation with an IZVESTIYA correspondent.

[Gayazov] Professor Sangster, the first question is for you. Have you ever encountered similar situations before?

[Sangster] Cases of hair loss are encountered very frequently in toxicology. But so many in so few days.... There has never been anything of the kind in our practice.

[Gayazov] What, in your opinion, happened then in Chernovtsy?

[Sangster] We were invited to visit here in order to search for an answer to this extremely difficult question. One must say that not all of the 165 children who were under the observation of doctors were involved in the "November phenomenon." It can include 118 children in whom the real cause of the disease could not be established. In them over 2-3 days there was complete or, as we call it, diffuse balding. And 2-3 weeks before this there was infection of the upper respiratory tracts.

We have investigated several versions, including thallium poisoning. If we say that it was thallium, the following symptoms should develop in the patient: disorders of the nervous system, leading in certain cases to paralysis and balding. And in general an increased thallium content is observed in the patient. The children's nerves were within the norm. As concerns the presence of thallium in their bodies, my colleague handled that.

[Gayazov] What were your conclusions as an analytical toxicologist, Mr. de Groot?

[De Groot] In order to determine thallium poisoning it is necessary to do a urinalysis. This is the main indicator. Soviet medical workers did this. I studied the analyses. They showed that there was no dangerous thallium content in the patients who were examined. Therefore thallium is not significant here.

Having the information that is at the disposal of the physicians, we cannot come to any final conclusions, says Sangster. The cause, in our opinion lies either in biological or chemical factors. Physical ones can be ruled out. In other words, we are dealing with some unknown kind of infectious disease or some kind of chemical poisoning. In order to determine the cause it would have been necessary to run a whole series of tests in the early stages of the illness. For instance, there was no careful examination of the upper respiratory tracts or eyes. But I am not reproaching my Soviet colleagues: It was not possible to anticipate everything. Moreover, I know of only five specialists in the world who are capable of figuring out the details of such situations. Our science is still in its "childhood years."

[Gayazov] Does this mean that the "November phenomenon" has still not been figured out?

[Sangster] It might be that the mystery will never be revealed. Unless, of course, God forbid, there are more cases. Then I believe it would be possible to give a precise answer. We and the Soviet specialists intend to continue the investigation working in close contact.

[Gayazov] You gave biological and chemical factors as possible causes. To which are you more inclined?

[Sangster] I would place the biological version first—a virus. But then how does one explain the fact that the illness stopped immediately after the sanitary-hygienic measures were taken in the city: They washed the streets there and even the roofs of the houses. On the other hand, chemical poisoning should have been accompanied by damage to the internal organs, which was not observed. There are many mysteries here....

[Gayazov] Soviet experts "blame" chemistry more....

[Sangster] I repeat: Both versions have a right to exist and can be regarded as the more probable.

[Gayazov] How do you evaluate the condition of the children's health today?

[Sangster] The hair of all 118 of them has already grown back. They feel all right. And we hope that in the future everything will be in order with them....

Symptoms Reported in Rostov

LD1505202389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1923 GMT on 12 May, in the "View" program, broadcasts a video report from Chernovtsy on the poor health of the area's children. A woman, identified as D.R. Golovach, is shown sitting with her children, two of which are nearly bald, the third which is developing bald patches. She discusses their condition, saying, "We first went to see a doctor on 4 November. We were told it was nothing. 'Go home. When they grow completely bald, come back and we will treat you,' they said." She says she found it impossible to speak to the government commission investigating the medical state of Chernovtsy. Her fourth child is shown; she has a full head of hair. She has been having frightening hallucinations and has been experiencing laughing fits, the mother says. One of her young, bald sons has been suffering from terrible pains in his feet, she says. The same son was burned by an iron and laughed when the incident happened.

A man identified as A.I. Ganin is then shown speaking to journalists, giving them a breakdown of an analysis of boron found in these sick children's urine. He says the boron was measured at its height at 25, stating that the normal measurment is 0.7. The unit of measurement is not specified.

The next video clip is an interview with V.M. Kuptsov, procurator of Chernovtsy Oblast. He says that after several cases of Alopecia were reported, investigations were made to establish the cause and to ascertain who was responsible for the problem. Kuptsov says the procuracy is waiting for the causes of the alopecia to be established, saying the procuracy can take no measures until that is done.

Another clip is shown in which O.Ye. Zaydner, assistant to a sanitary inspector, says she believes the past 8 months have been wasted as the experts searched for thallium. She says the scientists say too much time has elapsed for the cause to be established. She notes the scientists' claims that because there have been no cases since November, there is no way of telling how things will develop. She blames the government commission for the waste of time. "The point is not just whether it is thallium or something military or even radiation—that does not matter to us. Above all it is our children for whom we feel. To be honest, even though I am 60 now, I would like to live a bit longer myself!"

Next a clip of the program "We Answer Your Questions," broadcast on Chernovtsy television is shown. In it Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, chairman of the Government Commission, says, "What can I say? Since the general disinfection and decontamination of the town the pollution has come down a lot. We can say with confidence today that in this respect you are much better off than other cities." Another participant, A.A. Baranov, USSR deputy minister of health, continues, "I can say that today there is no threat of chemical disease in Chernovtsy."

L.Ya. Gordienko, the deputy to the Chernovtsy Oblast chief state sanitary inspector, is shown, listing the suggestions that have been put forward: thallium, boron, or dioxin. She says dioxin is not used in the Soviet Union, noting "We have received raisins from Afghanistan and nuts from Turkey, ordinary hazelnuts, which, judging by research did contain quite a large amount of dioxin." An unidentified medical worker says that "Almost all the children pass through our clinic. There have been 46 since the start of the month."

The Chernovtsy correspondent next says, "If only Chernovtsy were the only place affected!" I will read out just a small extract from a letter from Rostov: Dear "View", help us! We are writing specifically to you and sending the letter by courier because any letter sent simply to central television from our town would surely be intercepted. Please, do what we ask. It is not just a request, but a cry for help! The correspondent then reads the letter as follows, "Member of the ecological center, Rostov-na-Donu. In Rostov Oblast and the city of Rostov-na-Donu an extremely unhealthy and unpleasant situation has developed, which has forced us to turn to you for help. In Rostov and Rostov Oblast, deformed children are being born to perfectly healthy parents; the incidence of illness and mortality from diseases of the blood has increased among adults and children alike; the incidence of illness and death from tumors has sharply increased. Each year some 3,000 people in Rostov become ill with cancer alone; 1,500 die. These are the reported figures from the oncological clinic." The report concludes with further remarks on the causes of illness.

Pushkar Critizes 'Conditions of Glasnost' in Ryazan

PM1205135589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 May 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent A. Pushkar article: "The Name-Calling Saga, or Election Campaign Polemics in PRIOKSKAYA PRAVDA"]

[Text] Ryazan—"A few days ago...I was visited by a correspondent...from a central newspaper. He covers our oblast.... One would have thought that he would have wanted to find out about the city's problems and the difficulties a newly-appointed leader faces. But the comrade embarked on a conversation dealing with nothing but informals, and did so subject to certain preconceptions...."

I paused for a moment's thought on reading this indigestible passage from an interview with V. Lobanov, chairman of the Ryazan City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom], published by PRIOKSKAYA PRAVDA 18 April. Although not even a single line of mine about Ryazan had appeared in print yet, could I possibly be the target of a preemptive strike?

In contrast with Lobanov and PRIOKSKAYA PRAVDA Editor L. Kryuchkova, I have no desire to play hide and seek with my readers. Yes, I did meet V. Lobanov a few days ago, accompanied by our photoreporters. Our conversation focused not on some mythical "informals," but on A. Gavrilov, former candidate for USSR people's deputy and ecological movement leader, whose photograph was published by IZVESTIYA (No 40). The apparatus managed at electoral okrug meetings to block candidates whom it found unsuitable but who were popular in the city, and this resulted in a repeat election in one okrug. An action group headed by Engineer Gavrilov from the Radio Engineering Institute, having secured the support of 2,000 voters, applied on several occasions to Okrug Commission Chairman V. Dryuchin, Gorispolkom Chairman V. Lobanov, and Gorispolkom Secretary L. Zhivopistsev with a request for permission to found a voters' club and to hold a place of residence meeting to nominate their candidate.

In response to the voters' legitimate request, however, Lobanov called out mighty militia forces headed by Lieutenant Colonel G. Fedotov, using special vehicles and rubber "billies," which the residents of Ryazan saw for the first time not on television but before their very eyes. This incident has already been reported by the central press, and specifically by the newspapers SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Without sufficient grounds, and right at the steps of the gorispolkom building, two militiamen twisted Gavrilov's hands behind his back, and he was sentenced to 10 days' administrative arrest by the Sovetskiy Rayon Court. Thirteen voters were taken to the militia offices and fined. I was told by writer V. Safonov and other people who are respected in the city that all this was conceived by the city fathers in order to exclude Gavrilov from the election campaign. This is how Ryazan's new mayor, who lectures correspondents on what they should write, started his job.

This is what I, and other central newspaper correspondents who have now arrived in Ryazan, discussed with Lobanov. It is strange that the oblast newspaper, satisfied with the biased militia news release, did not send its own representative to the gorispolkom and did not publish the stories by eyewitnesses to an event which has excited the entire city.

As a matter of fact, soon afterward PRIOKSKAYA PRAVDA published under the rubric "Learning Democracy" an article entitled "Elections: Lessons and Experience," which seems to lay theoretical foundations for the events which occurred on the Ryazan Gorispolkom's doorstep. It would have seemed more appropriate if this article had been written by L. Khitrun, first secretary of the Ryazan Oblast CPSU Committee [obkom], or some other soviet official. But the editorial office chose as authors Colonel A. Zubkov, chief of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Higher School, and Major V. Levchenko, who is a lecturer there. But even this would not have mattered, had the familiar smell of Nina Andreyeva's recent attack against restructuring and democratism not wafted from this lengthy and confusing article.

"There was no delay in taking advantage of this situation on the part of...forces opposing the 'authorities' and uniting lovers of verbosity and posturing and sundry wheeler-dealers."

"After the okrug commissions (per PRIOKSKAYA PRAVDA—A.P.), these informal groups launched a frenzied attack against candidate deputies and the actual elections as a whole."

"Informals prepare and distribute among the population leaflets, posters, and addresses whose orientation is of an antisocial nature."

The article "Elections: Lessons and Experience" is liberally sprinkled with such denunciatory phrases, foisting on us new domestic enemies and setting population groups against one another. I asked legal organ officials: Were there any anti-Soviet, antisocialist, or unconstitutional speeches or slogans during the election campaign? There were none, and there are none.

Pondering the article by the two "teachers of democracy" from the Ryazan militia, I recalled the recent interviews with V. Pasternak, first secretary of Khabarovsk Kray CPSU Committee, published by IZVESTIYA and PRAVDA. Yes, he did lose to his rival in the election. But look at his winning position today, as outlined in the interviews! The first secretary is not looking for scapegoats, as people are in Ryazan, but is calling for a dialogue with people, for harmony and accord, for democratization and restructuring. And this position will emerge victorious.

V. Lobanov accuses us in the PRIOKSKAYA PRAVDA item of supposedly not covering the city's problems. Come now, Valeriy Nikolayevich, was it not you who told us that there are 50,000 persons on the waiting list for housing in Ryazan and that there is a shortage of schools, hospitals, and polyclinics? Meanwhile, a huge administrative building for the CPSU obkom is being built at a cost of several million rubles.

I think that, in the conditions of democratization and glasnost, one of the newsman's primary tasks is to take into account the interests of various strata and groups in the population, to promote not the fanning of passions at the cost of keeping silent, but joint work for the sake of restructuring.

Editorial Elucidates Law Enforcement Problems

PM1205145689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial under the rubric "Turning to the Material of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum": "The Legal Stimuli of Renewal"]

[Text] There is probably no need to explain that Soviet society is now going through a very important period and is resolving problems of historic dimensions. It is also obvious that this is not a one-day or one-year task. However, looking back at April 1985, we can say the country has already achieved a great deal. After all, these new elements of democratization and humanization that are seeping into all the pores of our life seemed like impossible daydreams not so long ago. People have become bolder, more full of initiative, more enterprising in a positive way, and they do not conceive of the country's future without restructuring, without improving and renewing life on the basis of socialist values already attained.

But moving restructuring forward successfully can, without a doubt, be done in conditions of organization, respect for the law, and tranquillity. Then, even if a mistake or error is made and these are inevitable in the course of revolutionary transformations, they can be analyzed and the best solution to the difficult situation found. There are still quite a few difficulties in the economy, the social and legal spheres, and interethnic relations.

Letters from readers also speak of this. They form a kind of mirror, reflecting the state of affairs in society. People are very alarmed by the recent growth in crime and the violation of law and order. "In Gorkiy, where I live, it has become frightening to go out into the street," writes N. Smolyakov. "At the end of February, right in the city center, bandits publicly shot two militiamen and stole their weapons... Criminal groups have taken control of the situation and they have intimidated not only the inhabitants, but also the militia. Nowadays you rarely see militiamen or members of the volunteer people's militia on patrol in the streets in the evenings. Essentially, the inhabitants of the city are left unprotected from criminal outrages."

Similar letters are coming in from other places. The criminogenic situation has become significantly more complex in the Transcaucasian and Baltic republics, in Uzbekistan and Turkmenia, and in Murmansk, Rostov, and other oblasts. Even in Moscow and Leningrad social order has recently deteriorated. Is it possible to resolve urgent problems of restructuring in such a situation calmly and quickly? No, of course not.

Obviously all this is worrying. All the more so since, as analysis of the letters shows, many of the authors directly associate the growth in crime and negative phenomena with the processes of restructuring, democratization, the liberation of people's social initiative, and the humanization of our legislation.

Is that how it is? After the essentially few years of restructuring and revolutionary renewal, begun on the party's initiative, democratization has already brought noticeable positive changes in all spheres of social activity. These are also noticeable in the judicial-legal system, which is undergoing major transformations. Respect for man's legitimate rights, interests, and freedoms and observance of the principle of presumption of innocence have come to the fore. Judges have become more exacting with proofs of guilt which investigators present, the prestige of lawyers is being strengthened, "telephone" law is disappearing, and other guarantees against groundless arrests and convictions are gaining in force. All this is being done so that the people's justice cannot be replaced by mob "judgement," as happened in the years of personality cult and stagnation, and so that law can reign. No one who is innocent should be convicted and no criminal should escape punishment.

At the same time, it was noted at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum, it should have been foreseen at the outset that any broadening of democratization and humanization of life must go in parallel with an uncompromising battle against criminal elements. Unfortunately, that moment was lost. Soviet and law enforcement organs and labor collectives all relaxed the struggle against manifestations of crime and violations of law and order. Some people started to forget that democracy is not just the widening of real rights and freedoms, but also the strengthening of responsibility, discipline, and organization. Every possible group, both conservative and leftist, immediately made use of this. Trying to protect their own well-being and fulfill their personal ambitions and interests, which are by no means always unselfish, under cover of restructuring slogans they would like to turn democracy into permissiveness, glasnost into the right to insult people's honor and dignity and discredit socialism, and set rights and freedoms against respect for the law and society. In this way, they are deliberately preparing an ideological base for new crimes and mass disorders, hoping to delay the course of restructuring with their help. It is these self-proclaimed leaders, springing up on the wave of the people's movement like dirty foam, who are responsible for nationalist and extremist manifestations, which increasingly acquire an anti-Soviet and antisocialist slant and lead to the downfall of totally innocent people and violations of law and order. Surely this has nothing in common with the processes of renewing society and democratization!

Restructuring, like any revolution, must be able to protect itself not only by using the power of persuasion, but above all the power of the law. All our initiatives, decisions, and steps must be built on its foundations. Observing the law is the main condition of a rule-of-law state, it is its sword and shield. That is why, as the letters to the editor show, people in general reacted with approval to the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on changes and amendments to a number of the country's legislative acts. People have started to realize that the more freedoms society gives its citizens, the better law and order must be and the more strictly they must be observed.

The CPSU Central Committee Legal Policy Commission and state law enforcement organs are drawing up concrete measures to combat crime and violations of the social order. However, today it can be said that the misunderstanding of the humanization of legislation and the administration of the law has led to a situation where consideration for the rights of criminals has in some places become greater than that for the rights of the victims.

"In actual fact," it was stressed at the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, "within the framework of real democracy, criminal elements should be in a much worse situation and the citizens in a much better one. That is the formula."

With the help of this formula we must resolve the task of building a rule-of-law state and strengthen the processes of restructuring, democracy, legislation, and law and order. In the interests of every citizen, every labor collective, and the whole of society, the law enforcement organs must work competently and decisively, in complete accordance with the law. So the professional level of their cadres must be raised, the material and technical base for the battle against crime strengthened, and legislation improved. However, it is no less important that the law enforcement organs feel the constant support of society in carrying out their difficult duty.

Journalist's Union Membership Card Returned

PM0905123189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by A. Dragan: "Journalist's Card Returned"]

[Text] On 5 May A. Bogdanov's USSR Journalists Union membership card was returned to him 20 years after it had been confiscated from him.

At the time, in 1969, the journalist ventured to oppose the occupation of a hospital by bureaucrats from the "Vorkutaugol" administration, which was starting to grow. The story was a long and tedious one. In the end Albert Nikolayevich was convicted of many sins: anti-Sovietism, listening to [radio station] voices, psychoneurological disorders. Here is a quotation from the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Prosecutor's Office letter:

"As has been established, a letter to your former wife and a letter of anti-Soviet content were taken from you in your apartment at the time when television studio workers who had arrived saved you and prevented your death from hanging. These letters are thus letters written before death and addressed to all members of Soviet society...."

It was a case of a letter which the journalist sent to higher authorities in Moscow and which received no reply. Although quotations from it were often heard from the oblast leaders.

"In addition," the prosecutor's office message ends, "for the purposes of information I report that the KGB organs have been notified of the occurrence.

"[signed] Vorkuta Assistant Prosecutor A. Kuchurin."

But what did the actual letter "of anti-Soviet content" contain?

The author urged that the slogan "land for the peasants, plants for workers" be implemented in practice. By present yardsticks the letter contained nothing special inasmuch as it drew attention to the imperfection of the work of the economic, party, and soviet organs, which enabled the bureaucrats to plunder the country's natural resources without a care, to pollute the environment, and to cancel out the efforts of the working man. There was mention of violations to and the imperfection of the electoral system, when bureaucrats nominated the people they wanted as people's deputies, also juggling with the election results. All this enabled local leaders to create a kind of elite, entry to which was closed to ordinary mortals.

A situation was thus formed whereby real power did not belong to the local soviets. But the main thing was that the letter cast doubt on the slogan from the party program—"the present generation of Soviet people will live under communism."

A. Bogdanov is now a TASS correspondent in Kirghizia.

Relaxation of Rules on Information Flow Explained

18001016 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 27 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with Algimantas Brazaytis, chief of the Main Administration for Protection of State Secrets in the Press, by unnamed ELTA correspondent—date and place not given]

[Text] [ELTA] Customs rules have changed. The USSR Ministry of Culture has simplified the rules for shipping artistic literature and works of art abroad. What changes have taken place in the area of expansion of information ties and exchange of periodical publications and scientific and technical knowledge?

[Brazaytis] In implementing the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference resolution on glasnost, the USSR Government has considerably expanded the possibilities of exchanging works of art, publications, television and radio programs, and audio-visual information media. There are still quite a few restrictions and bans, and for quite understandable reasons.

For example, previously, on the basis of laws and rules to protect our state borders, the importation of materials of an informational nature, even from socialist countries, was strictly controlled and restricted. It was even impossible to acquire the printed materials of workers' and communist parties of certain countries or information publications of the United Nations and other international organizations in which the USSR participates. Now all this is in the past. Scientific and technical journals, newspapers, bulletins, and audio-visual information from any state is allowed without restrictions as long as it does not contain information or instructions that are not allowed to be disseminated in the USSR such as, for example, how to prepare and use narcotics, explosives, and weapons, to commit crimes and sabotage, to cover up their traces, or to do harm to the safety and health of man.

Any Soviet citizen when returning from abroad can take across the border or receive through the mail films, videotapes, or photographs that do not contain prohibited information. All books with encyclopedic or scientific and technical content, fashion magazines, price lists, catalogs of goods, works of classical world literature, literature on subjects in representational art, theater, ballet, movies, music, sports and also literature of a religious nature are allowed to pass through freely.

[ELTA] Why did you mention only the classics of world literature and not all artistic literature?

[Brazaytis] Artistic literature in the modern world is very contradictory. In it one finds information that is prohibited by the laws of our country, scenes that promote subversion of the existing structure and the commission of antistate acts, that destroy our moral values, that propagandize ideas of war, violence, racism, fascism, and varieties of them, that incite national and religious dissension. One finds pornography, vulgar eroticism, and cruelty. These kinds of works of literature and art are not allowed into our country. If none of these things are to be found in the works there are no obstacles to bringing them in.

[ELTA] What newspapers and magazines of a sociopolitical nature are allowed into the USSR and where can they be bought?

[Brazaytis] Changes are also apparent in this area but, of course, not yet to the degree that we would like. Newspapers of developing and nonaligned countries and certain newspapers and magazines that most clearly represent the sociopolitical life of capitalist countries are allowed into the Soviet Union without restriction. These include the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, the GUARDIAN, ASAHI, EL PAYS, DIE PRESSE, CANADIAN TRIBUNE, DIE ZEIT, and several other publications of a similar nature. They are also sold in kiosks of the Main Administration for Distribution of the Press of the USSR Ministry of Communications in our republic.

[ELTA] And what is the attitude toward the emigrant press?

[Brazaytis] It varies. Everything depends on its contents and on its position with respect to our country. And the emigrant press that represents scientific, literary, and artistic value is already allowed into our country. In a word, the doors are opened wide to those who are looking for contacts and wish to cooperate without committing sabotage or making reproaches. But anything from which emanates the spirit of the Cold War era, continues to fashion the image of the enemy, incites confrontation, tries to undermine the Soviet system and the unity of the country, contradicts our laws and international agreements is not allowed over the state border.

[ELTA] Are there greater possibilities of sending Soviet newspapers and magazines and other information to foreign countries?

[Brazaytis] Undoubtedly. If there are no objections from the country to which they are being sent, in the USSR it is now possible to write, send in the mail, or carry on oneself any publication included in the catalog of the USSR Ministry of Communications. All publications that are officially allowed and freely sold can be sent individually or as small packages if they do not contain information whose publication is prohibited.

It is not permitted to send publications in large quantities when it is clearly for purposes of pressure or speculation.

The work of experts has been simplified and the policy for monitoring state secrets has been eased in scientific and other publications of Soviet citizens sent for publication in the foreign press, to conferences and symposiums, and for other purposes of cooperation.

[ELTA] As the flow of printed material that is being sent out increases we more and more frequently hear complaints that one book or another and sometimes everything that has been sent fails to reach the addressee. How do you explain this?

[Brazaytis] It is because of the very poor workings of the international mail and its excessive centralization. It is clearly unable to cope with this unprecedentedly large volume of work.

If the control officials refuse to let some object through and confiscate it, the item always contains the mark that this was done in keeping with the international postal convention. If this mark is not there and the parcel has arrived incomplete, this means that it was stolen or was scattered about because of the irresponsibility of the postal workers. In such a case the sender has the right to lodge a complaint. The international postal service must reimburse the sender for the damage that was caused.

'Heavy Flooding' Causes Casualties in Ukraine

LD1205203289 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Showers have caused heavy flooding in some areas in the Ukraine. The banks of small rivers have been flooded. In the Dniester River, the water level has risen up to 4 and ½ meters. Some villages have turned into tiny islands. The population has been evacuated from there by helicopters and motorboats. Crops on the area of thousands of hectares are under water. Casualties are reported.

Floods in Carpathia Kill 5, Damage 40,000 Hectares

LD1005200889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 10 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; V. Lyashko video report]

[Text] [Announcer] A powerful cyclone which passed over western regions of the country caused pouring rain in the Carpathians.

[Lyashko] From 100-150 mm of rain fell over the last 2 days in mountain and foothill areas of Lvov oblast, which is 1.5-2 times as much as the monthly average for May. [video shows aerial views of flooded land, individual houses standing like islands in the flood water; livestock standing in floodwater]

The abundant rain has caused a sharp increase in the water levels in rivers in the Dnestr Basin. In individual places dikes have been torn apart. Motor vehicle traffic has been disrupted. Power and communication installations are inoperative.

According to preliminary data, 40 populated areas have been flooded. The population had to be evacuated from 8 of them. Some 40,000 hectares of agricultural land is under water. Significant material damage has been inflicted on production and housing premises. The work of 16 power lines have been disrupted. The communications system in the areas which have suffered has partially been put out of operation. There are human casualties; five people have died.

A specially created commission is taking energetic measures to eliminate the consequences of the natural calamity. Essential medical, material, and other assistance is being given to the population of the affected areas. Restoration work has begun.

Scientific

No 'Buran' Flights in 1989; Shuttle Goes to Air Show

LD1605110389 Moscow TASS in English 1049 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—There are no plans to launch the USSR's reusable spacecraft Buran this year, a senior Soviet space official told newsmen here today.

The Buran carried out a maiden flight in an unmanned mode on November 15 last year.

"The absence (?of flights) this year is in no way connected with technical faults," stressed Aleksandr Dunayev who heads the country's space administration Glavkosmos.

"The Buran has been completely restored and is ready for more flights," he said, adding that the next mission will be conducted when there is a payload that could, at least partially, make up for expenses involved.

Dunayev said that the Soviet space shuttle will actually fly this year even though this will be a piggy-back ride on the new Soviet transport plane An-225 which is to bring it to the Le Bourget air show.

Minister Discusses Nuclear Power Program

LD1505125889 Moscow TASS in English 1224 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—The Soviet Union comes out for an international safety regime in nuclear engineering, for technical cooperation, exchange of information and experience. This was stated today by Nikolay Lukonin, the Soviet minister for nuclear engineering, who addressed a constituent conference of the World Association of Nuclear Operators (WANO), which opened here today.

Nikolay Lukonin recalled that bans on information about the operation of nuclear power plants and their ejections into the environment had been lifted in the Soviet Union. Experts of the International Atomic Energy Agency were invited to this country for the first time in 1988 to check the operational safety of the Rovno atomic power plant. IAEA experts were invited this year for similar purposes to the Ignalinskaya power plant and the Gorkiy atomic heating station.

Speaking of the level attained by Soviet nuclear engineering, the minister said that on January 1st, 1989, the country had 47 power generating blocks with an installed capacity of 35.4 million kilowatts. The annual output of electricity at atomic power plants amounted to 1988 to 216 billion kilowatt hours or to 12.6 percent of the total generated in the Soviet Union. Pre-operational adjustment jobs are all but completed on three more power blocks with a capacity of one million kilowatts each.

Continued in the USSR now, Nikolay Lukonin went on, are scientific and designing efforts to raise the reliability and safety of generating blocks with different types of reactors. Information systems to report on equipment failures, different incidents and measures taken in connection with them have been created. Today, such systems make it possible to prevent equipment failures and carry out probability analyses of the safety of atomic power plant equipment and systems. Programmes have been worked out for the mathematical modelling and analysis of unsteady regimes of the operation of atomic reactors, means for controlling the operation of their elements.

All this has appreciably enhanced the safety and dependability of power generating blocks, has reduced by 27 percent the number of unplanned reactor stoppages in 1988 as compared to 1987, and by almost 50 percent during the first four months of this year as compared to the corresponding period of last year. The minister also said that the average radiation effect on the personnel of all the atomic power plants in the USSR amounted to 0.66 ber in 1988. At the Chernobyl atomic power plant it dropped from 1.51 ber in 1987 to 1.03 ber in 1988.

Further development of nuclear engineering in the USSR, Nikolay Lukonin said, will involve the expansion of operating stations and the construction of new power plants. Work is under way on new extra safe reactors, such as the 1,000 megawatt water-cooled reactor, the high-temperature gas-cooled reactor and others.

Tatar Nuclear Plant Being Built in Seismic Zone

PM1505140789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 89 p 2

[Article by own correspondent A. Pankratov under the rubric "We Report the Details": " 'No Casualties, No Devastation, No Clarity....' Epilogue to the Earthquake in Tataria"]

[Text] Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]—On 17 April many inhabitants of Mendeleyevsk, Naberezhnyye Chelny, Yelabuga, Nizhnekamsk, and other cities and settlements in this densely populated industrial region of the Tatar ASSR unexpectedly awoke earlier than usual—at 0522 in the morning. The small "poltergeist," dropping crystal vases and china, overturning buckets full of water, showering plaster, and causing panes of glass to ring, possibly frightened them less than the vague rumble which continued for about half a minute and sounded like the noise of a K-700 tractor passing by on the other side of the wall. In one house in a small village near Menzelinsk, an old stove split and, in a settlement close to Mendeleyevsk, an absolutely sober peasant was knocked off his feet.

However, the local population learned of this terrible happening in the center of the ancient Eastern-European (Russian) plateau from the newspaper SOVETSKAYA TATARIYA only on the 3d day. And the republic's television and radio failed to broadcast incoming information, giving as their explanation a ban on such information by civil defense bodies. This, despite the fact that on the very 1st day newspaper editorial offices and the Kazan State University had their telephones rung off the hook with questions: What has happened? What caused it? Will it happen again? And, the main question: Where are such powerful earth tremors coming from in the Russian plateau, which is considered to be safe? Your correspondent has also joined the investigation.

"Investigation?" The reader will be surprised. Why should there be an investigation? All you have to do is apply to the official seismic service, get accurate information from the instruments, and.... But the whole point is that there is no such service in the Tatar ASSR. That is precisely why the recent earthquake, whose epicenter was in the region of the city of Mendeleyevsk, has given rise to so many rumors (even going as far as speculation on a possible nuclear explosion). At the epicenter the tremors reached force of 5-6.

...In front of me lies an amateur chart plotting the Tatar earthquake; it was compiled by I. Iskhakov, the chief of Experimental Method Seismology Group No 50 of the "Tatneftegeofizika" Association. It was compiled a week after the earth tremor on the basis of public opinion polls and is still being formulated. In this we should say thank you to Irshat Akhmedovich, because the group, set up 4 years ago, is certainly not supposed to engage in this kind of large-scale seismic research. Its job is to monitor the tectonic situation in the region of the once very rich Romashkinskiy oil field. It is armed with just four seismic stations of the "tortoise" type (two of them were out of action in preparation for the summer season when the earthquake struck).

"It was an ordinary tectonic earthquake," I. Iskhakov said. "They have occurred on the Russian plateau before, but they have become more frequent lately. Strictly speaking, that is why our group was originally set up. It is possibly only a coincidence, but we have established a link between the increase in oil drilling operations and the increase in minor earthquakes which can only be registered by special equipment. We have recorded several cases of oil well shafts breaking up and dozens of cases of columns collapsing. There are various explanations for this, but I believe that the tectonics of the region are to blame.... Of course, there is not really any reason to say that the earthquakes are technogenic, but active oil drilling operations could perfectly well serve as a kind of 'trigger mechanism' for the subterranean elements."

Unfortunately, the shortage of equipment and the narrow specificity of the task which Iskhakov's group has been set by the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry—to establish how to exploit the waning oil reserves for a little longer—make it impossible to shed any real light on the picture of the geological processes which are taking place here. But this light is not simply necessary—it is vitally important.

The giant Kama truck plant, the Yelabuga truck plant under construction, the mineral fertilizers plant in Mendeleyevsk, the major complex of petrochemical plants, the large oil drilling operations, the concentration of major pipelines, the two hydroelectric power stations with reservoirs at Kuybyshev and Nizhnekamsk, and, finally, the Tatar and Bashkir nuclear electric power stations [AES] being built about 100 km apart from each other make this region simply a giant powder keg from the viewpoint of seismic danger. I suspect that someone immediately after this comparison will accuse me of exaggeration at least. And officially speaking they will be right, unfortunately. That is because according to the charts showing the earthquake regions of the USSR which serve as the basis for planning all the most important national economic projects, the zone of the so-called Tatar anticline is classed as safe—resistant to a force 5?! Is there any point wasting my ink in that case?

"You know," geophysicist I. Iskhakov replied, "the Gazli region was also at first thought to be seismically safe, and it was once claimed that no major earthquakes were predicted on the young North American plateau. But everything turned out differently. And who today after Armenia can say anything categorically?"

Nevertheless? One of few, perhaps the only, specialist in the Tatar ASSR who is studying this matter is Professor Boris Burov, head of the geology department at the USSR Kazan State University. We will refer to him. But first of all:

Historical Background Information

According to far from full historical evidence, there have been earthquakes in the region of the Tatar anticline before (even just outside Kazan itself in 1866 and 1909). The strongest (force 5-6) occurred near Kozmodemyansk in 1807. In 1851 Yelabuga experienced earth tremors measuring force 4-5, and in 1914 there was a perceptible earthquake in the south of the Tatar ASSR.

In 1982 there was a series of earthquakes measuring force 3-4 near Almetyevsk. Four years later there was another earthquake, force 5-6, close by. In September last year another earthquake was registered to the north of Almetyevsk. And in January this year the instruments registered force 4-5 to the west of this city.

According to Professor Burov, in just over the last 100 years the Tatar anticline has experienced approximately 30 earthquakes stronger than force 4.

"The Kama fault runs right through this region," Boris Vladimirovich said. "About 10 million years ago the Kama River burst through to the Volga as a result of this fault becoming active. Active tectonic processes are still continuing to this day. As a whole, the ecological and geological balance has been considerably upset in this region. Natural causes aside, this results from the building of the Kuybyshev and Nizhnekamsk reservoirs and the intensive oil drilling operations. The latter at least prompt tectonic strike slips...."

Burov is convinced that this region needs extradepartmental monitoring. There must be a network of official seismic stations and regular, high-precision geodesic observation work. No one has really studied the earthquakes and their characteristics. In addition to this, there has been a clash of interests of big, strong departments in the region.

For example, while the public and "green" movements in the Tatar ASSR were fighting the construction of a biochemical plant close to Kazan, the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation successfully exploited the uproar to push through the construction of the Tatar AES. Collecting their wits, scientists and ordinary citizens came up with all manner of arguments against the AES—ranging from the existence of alternative energy sources to reasonable doubts regarding the safety of the reactors and so forth. So far, for some reason, no one has voiced the most terrible fear of all—the fear of earthquakes.

But the Tatar AES, it seems, is being built in the immediate vicinity of the nexus of the Kama tectonic fault. In the very seismic zone where, even according to the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation's own instructions, it is dangerous to site industrial installations.

So how are the complex geological features of the region taken into account in the multivolume AES project?

We should at least begin with the fact that, for some reason, members of the Riga branch of the "Atomenergoproekt" Institute and also Kharkov, Sverdlovsk, and Tashkent designers have said that the project is geologically sound. I do not doubt their qualifications. But you must agree all the same that it is strange to shun the help of local geological services and science in this respect.

And surely it is not possible to draw up an objective picture without comprehensively analyzing geological data and carefully studying tectonic factors?

Back in February scientists at Kazan University supported the position of Professor Burov at a scientific council chaired by Professor Aleksandr Konovalov, rector of the university and now a people's deputy, and then appealed through the press for the construction of the AES to be stopped immediately and an extradepartmental commission set up.

On 30 March the USSR Council of Ministers gave instructions to set up a state commission of experts attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Interdepartmental Council for Seismology and Earthquakeproof Construction, which is headed by Academician M. Sadovskiy. But nothing has been heard of its sessions, the chairman and members of the commission are still unknown, and, once again, it seems, Kazan scientists have been "forgotten" and the broad public is being kept in total ignorance.

"Please understand us," Boris Vladimirovich Burov fumed, "we are not opposed to nuclear power in general. In fact, we are in favor. Because we are basically discrediting the idea with an unsubstantiated, ill-considered project, clumsy construction work, and poor engineering and technological standards. The recent earthquake was a terrible warning. After all, it only takes a tilt of 1 degree to put a nuclear reactor out of action...."

Meanwhile the Tatar AES is mushrooming—after a generous sprinkling of state allocations. Our money, incidentally. It is going to cost more than R2 billion! But what will be the cost of the consequences?

The people say: "If the thunder does not rumble, the peasant will not cross himself." But maybe it is time to make the sign of the cross over this rather doubtful enterprise which is being pushed through with such haste? I am aware that there are other viewpoints. Only it would be good to express them at large ecological rallies and meetings with voters rather than behind massive office doors. Express them before the people. Looking them in the eye.

Military

Letter Criticizes Leniency Toward Deserters

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[Letter from reader A. Daryalov, member of the USSR Journalists' Union: "Extremes Again...."]

[Text] Kaliningrad—It seems that going from one extreme to the other has become a characteristic of ours. There have been plenty of examples of this. Previously the people were told that our borders were surrounded by nothing but enemies. Now a number of press publications have started actively pushing the idea that our system and country have no enemies at all—there is just the image of the enemy that we have dreamed up for ourselves. Previously there was official blessing for the opinion that all POW's were traitors, irrespective of the circumstances in which they were captured. Now some people are prepared to call all our POW's—again irrespective of the circumstances in which they were captured—virtual heroes and, if the worst comes to the worst, innocent victims who deserve every sympathy.

The weekly NOVOYE VREMYA No 15 for this year presents us with such a "victim" in the shape of someone called A. Mateuts. Just who is this man, on whose behalf NOVOYE VREMYA correspondent I. Lagunina campaigns so passionately?

Serving in Afghanistan, he initially went AWOL—in other words, he deserted. For which, in my view, Mateuts was let off very lightly—his comrades expelled him from the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League. He then deliberately decided not only to desert once again but to go over to the Pakistani mercenaries' side. And, having grabbed a guard's assault rifle, he went ahead with this carefully planned step, virtually killing a sergeant as he escaped.

The deserter Mateuts spent 3 months with the rebels until the Pakistani authorities handed him over to the Soviet Embassy with the help of the Red Cross. For his crime and for having betrayed the oath and military duty the court sentenced the deserter to 8 years' imprisonment.

These facts were cited in the same article. But, despite them, NOVOYE VREMYA sets about trying to prove with misguided vigor that the deserter was punished too severely, if not unfairly. The main point advanced in Mateuts' defense is the claim that he did not take advantage of an opportunity to go to Switzerland.

I might possibly have overlooked the article if it had not clearly followed a line which is now being consistently pursued by a number of periodicals. Following this line, we may conclude that capture that is not the result of a crisis situation, betrayal of the oath and duty, and even deliberate siding with the enemy are not such serious matters. Here is how V. Ignatenko, chief editor of NOVOYE VREMYA, put forward his view of the problem in a letter to USSR Prosecutor General A.Ya. Sukharev: "Under the new conditions it seems to us that it is worthwhile being charitable. The motherland is magnanimous and can forgive backsliders...."

Backsliders! Is that all? This is clearly the way that young soldiers taking their military oath and preparing themselves to defend the motherland are supposed to react to deserters and turncoats.... Quite honestly, it was awful reading these arguments. Yes, our state did undertake a humanitarian act in declaring an amnesty for those who besmirched military honor in Afghanistan—and that includes Mateuts. But why reassess what they did? What is the point?

Justification or vindication of treachery has always been a dubious venture. Above all it strikes at human morals and disorientates people ideologically. That way an excuse can be found for any act—even the basest.